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IDENTITY AND GENDER IN A CHANGING SOCIETY: THE SOCIAL IDENTITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIP YOUTH

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ABSTRACT

Social identity theory in the Tajfel/Turner tradition is evaluated and extended in the interests of understanding the social identity of working class South African township youth, with particular reference to gender. This thesis is located against the background of pressures on South African social scientists to contribute to an understanding of the mechanisms whereby unequal power relations are perpetuated or transformed.

Four features of social identity theory are identified which limit its power to contribute to such an understanding. These are i) an over-reliance on artificially constituted groups and experimental settings, ii) the reduction of 'society' to 'the group' investigated at the intra- and inter-individual levels of analysis at the expense of the societal level, iii) the omission of an account of the interaction of individual and society in the process of social identity construction, and iv) a neglect of the concept of social change. In the light of the challenges posed by this critique the research builds on insights drawn from social identity theory and self-categorisation theory as well as township youth's accounts of their identity. In so doing it develops a **methodology** for investigating the social identity of actual people in the real world and a three-pronged **model** that is intended to account for (i) the structuring, (ii) the process, and (iii) the gendered nature of identity construction.

Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were conducted with 20 young women and 20 young men aged between 17 and 23 years. The lengths of the interviews ranged from four to eight hours. They were analysed by means of a coding frame that conceptualised social identity as an adaptive resource drawn on by youth to meet the everyday demands of their material and social existence. From this analysis a model was created of the **structuring** of identity in terms of a trialogue between adaptative challenges, group memberships and behavioural options. Twenty key adaptative challenges facing township youth are identified and discussed, as are the most typical behavioural options associated with each challenge and the 11 most important group memberships providing youth with raw materials with which to construct their identity.

A detailed qualitative analysis of gendered differences in the behavioural options associated with group memberships, as well as a quantitative analysis of the interaction between adaptative challenges, group memberships and gender, highlight the most significant differences in the social identity of men and women.

On the basis of the interview data and the model of the structuring of social identity, the **process** of social identity theory construction is outlined. Identity construction is characterised in terms of a debating or negotiating process where individuals weigh up the possibilities offered by competing group memberships in the light of changing social demands. The motivational criterion of perceived adaptative success is suggested to be the driving force of social identity formation, with township youth being motivated by varying degrees of commitment to the socially negotiated criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment. The behavioural options that group memberships present to males and females are shown to differ, as do criteria for perceived adaptative success, and in ways that tend to preserve patterns of male dominance in social relations. Under changing social conditions however, the possibility of constructing new and more empowering identities does exist for subordinate social groupings such as women. Evidence for the role played by identity in both the reproduction and the transformation of patriarchal relations is presented.

The author concludes that an extended social identity theory can contribute to an understanding of the psychological processes whereby unequal power relations are reproduced or transformed at the ideological level of analysis, and could serve as a useful tool for psychologists committed to developing a socially relevant social psychology.

MEMORANDUM

I declare that all unreferenced work in this thesis is my own, and that this dissertation has never been previously submitted at this or any other university.

Catherine M Campbell

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Firstly I should like to thank my adviser, PROFESSOR PETER ROBINSON, for the help and encouragement he has given me in the planning and execution of this thesis. It has been a pleasure and a privilege to work with him. I am indebted to him for hours of debate and discussion, for his constructively critical comments, and for his never-failing enthusiasm and sense of humour.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In this research social identity theory is evaluated and extended in the interests of understanding the social identity of South African township youth under conditions of rapid social change. The project has the following three goals, which will be outlined in this chapter:

1. The theoretical goal: to examine the potential of social identity theory in the Tajfel-Turner tradition for the task of investigating social identity in a changing society; and if necessary to extend social identity theory's account of the structure and process of social identity formation in a way that is sensitive to the social context of identity construction.
2. The substantive goal: to give an account of the social identity of township youth in South Africa, with particular reference to gender.
3. The methodological goal: to develop a method of analysing individuals' accounts of their social identity that is sensitive to the social context of their experience and behaviour.

1.1 The theoretical goal

This work takes as its starting point social psychology in the Bristol tradition (initiated during Henri Tajfel's time at the University of Bristol) and more particularly social identity theory as it was first outlined by Tajfel (1978, 1981, 1982, Tajfel and Turner 1979), and more recently developed in writings such as Turner et al. (1987), Hogg and Abrams (1988) and Abrams and Hogg (1990). As Chapter 2 will explain, this dissertation uses the term 'social identity theory' as a general term to include both Tajfel's Social Identity Theory, and Self-Categorisation Theory as developed by Turner and others.

Social identity is defined as "the individual's knowledge that he (*sic*) belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of group membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p. 31). A social group is understood as "two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves, or, which is nearly

the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category". (Turner, 1982, p. 15) Social identity theory thus provides a starting point for understanding individual experience and behaviour in terms of the person's membership of social groupings such as the church, the family and the peer group.

Social identity theory was developed within the parameters of social psychology, which Tajfel described as the branch of psychology concerned with the relationship between individual and society.

> "(Social psychology is concerned with) ... individual behaviour as it interacts with its social context, and as it more often than not derives from that context ..." (Tajfel and Fraser, 1978, pp. 17-18)

Despite Tajfel's commitment to understanding the impact of society on individual experience and behaviour the history of social identity theory in the Bristol tradition has been blighted by two forms of 'social amnesia'[1]. The first is its failure to develop an adequate account of the social context of identity construction. The second is its lack of relevance to an understanding of social problems.

The first criticism relates to the theory's tendency to emphasise the individual and inter-individual levels of analysis, at the expense of the social level. Despite paying lip-service to the importance of locating group memberships against the background of a set of hierarchically structured power relations of race, gender and class (e.g Hogg and Abrams 1988, Turner et al. 1987), social identity theorists have in practice paid inadequate attention to the socially structured CONTENT of identity. They have tended to focus their research and writing in two main areas, namely the PROCESS and STRUCTURE of social identity formation.

In the context of references to the 'process', 'structure' and 'content' of social identity, the term 'process' is used to refer to the cognitive mechanisms underlying identity formation (e.g. the processes of social categorisation and social comparison). The term 'structure' is used to refer to social identity theory's account of the organisation of the self-concept in terms of a loose association of group memberships. The term 'content' is used to refer to (a) those particular group memberships available to individuals in socially and historically specific situations, and (b) socially and historically specific characteristics of these group memberships.[2]

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1 This term is borrowed from Jacoby (1975).

2 The following examples provide a concrete illustration of what is meant by the 'content' of identity as outlined here: (a) The particular group memberships available to South African township youth in the late 1980's and early 1990's include BLACK, CHURCH, COMRADES ... (see Section 5.2.1 for a list of group memberships). (b) An example of one specific characteristic associated with the group membership BLACK in the identity accounts given by informants in the current study would be: disapproval of current situation of racial oppression of blacks by whites.

On the whole mainstream social identity theory's accounts of process and structure have been investigated and presented outside of any particular social context, and often independently of attention to the content of the identity of real individuals in the real world. Furthermore the theory's notion of society has too often been restricted to the rather arid and decontextualised notion of 'the group', failing to locate 'the group' within any broader social context. One of the goals of this thesis will be to provide an account of the process and structuring of social identity that takes account of the inextricably social nature of individual experience and behaviour.

Turning to the second form of social amnesia, one of the results of this neglect of the social (which has frequently been bemoaned in the 'crisis literature' that has appeared over the past 20 years) is social psychology's minimal relevance to an understanding of concrete social problems in the real world. As Wexler comments:

> "The abstraction of human interaction from the concrete sociohistorical situation has been the central blindspot of social psychology ... resulting in theories that have become incomplete and distorted representations of social and personal reality." (1983, pp. 2-3)

Due to their failure to provide an adequate account of the social context of individual experience and behaviour, social psychologists have remained isolated from the critical perspectives and debates on social issues that have developed in some other social sciences. This is particularly evident in South Africa where social psychologists have been conspicuously absent from social and political debates concerning the restructuring of South African social relations.

The theoretical goal of this project is to evaluate and where necessary extend mainstream social identity theory, against the background of an interest in Tajfel's original agenda for social psychology in general and social identity theory in particular, namely that of producing a social psychology capable of understanding the effects of the ever-changing social context on human behaviour (1974). It will be argued that despite its historical shortcomings, social identity theory can be extended into a theoretical tool that avoids both forms of social amnesia outlined above.

1.2 The substantive goal

The project's substantive agenda is to investigate the social identity of a sample of South African township youth, both young men and young women, in an attempt to

develop an account of social identity that is sensitive to social context. This research population was determined by particular political and organisational interests of the researcher, which will be outlined in Section 4.1. Suffice to say at present that this population provides an appropriate starting point for a social researcher interested in the individual-society interface. In South Africa at present, social and political disruptions are stark, and social change in the lives of township people is taking place rapidly. In this context, the elusive notion of 'social context', which would be more difficult to 'pin down' in a more stable society, is thrown into sharp relief by the pace and intensity of current events (Miller, 1984).

In this research, six features of mainstream social identity theory were taken as starting point (see Section 2.5 for an account of these six aspects). Beyond these features the following three considerations guided the planning of the fieldwork:

a) In order to move beyond the decontextualised accounts of the process and structure of social identity that have occupied social identity theorists in the Tajfel-Turner tradition, a third aspect of social identity, its content, was taken as the study's initial focus. This aspect of social identity is socially and historically specific, and it was assumed that such a focus would lead the researcher in the direction of the individual-society interface as originally outlined by Tajfel. It was hoped that a focus on the content of identity as a starting point would enable the researcher to extend social identity theory's insights into the structure[3] and process of social identity in a way that was more sensitive to the social context of identity formation than psychologists in the Tajfel-Turner tradition have been.

b) As a starting point for an empirical investigation into the content of social identity, the concept of identity was operationalised by linking group membership to action. This was done by taking Self-Categorisation Theory's notion of "referent informational influence" (see Section 2.3) as a starting point. It was assumed that membership of particular social groupings (such as the peer group, the church and the family) would be associated with particular constraints and possibilities on behaviour or "recipes for living"[4]. Individuals are faced with a range of possible behaviours in their day-to-day lives. The choices they make will

3 Later in this report the notion of 'the structuring of identity' will be used in preference to the notion of 'the structure of identity' (as used by e.g. Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p. 24). This preference is justified on the grounds that the former term is better able to capture the fluid and variable nature of identity than does the latter term, which implies a more static and rigid phenomenon.

4 This phrase is borrowed from Craig (1985).

be influenced by their group memberships. It was further assumed that different self-categorisations would become salient in response to particular features of specific situations as the individual moved from one situation to another. The issue of the salience of identity is also drawn from Self-Categorisation Theory (see Section 2.3).

c) Much mainstream social identity theory operates with the notion of a static society, which presents its members with a range of stable group memberships with which to construct their identities (Condor, 1989; see Section 2.4). This assumption could not be made with reference to social conditions in South Africa. One of the features of a society in unusually rapid transition is the fact that the recipes for living associated with the old order are not likely to be appropriate for dealing with the challenges of the emerging one. One of the tasks of the research was to locate the formation and transformation of group memberships and their associated recipes for living within the context of changing social conditions.

Against this background an open-ended, semi-structured interview schedule was constructed in the interests of answering the following questions:

1. What are the social groupings or self-categorisations available to township youth?
2. What are the criteria that define inclusion or exclusion in these categories?
3. What are the category-congruent constraints and possibilities on the behaviour of category members?
4. What factors influence the individuals' choices or adoptions of particular group memberships?

1.3 The methodological goal

Interviews were conducted with 40 young people (20 men and 20 women). The interviews were extremely detailed, and took four to eight hours to conduct. The task of developing a method of analysis proceeded as follows.

The starting point of the analysis was to investigate the relationship between the individual's behaviour and his or her membership of particular social groupings, such as the family, the peer group and the church. The starting point of the project was that individuals were faced with a range of possible behaviours in their day-to-day lives. The choices the individual would make from this range would be influenced by his or her group memberships. Against this background the first step in the data analysis was

to investigate the choices of behaviour available to subjects, and to begin to cluster ranges of choices around particular group memberships. In other words, the data were scanned for evidence of what were referred to as the behavioural options facing the informants, and the group memberships associated with these options.

However the analysis sought to go further than this. Not only did it seek to explore the link between behaviour and group membership. It also had to explore this relationship against the background of particular social conditions (viz. rapidly changing township society). Thus the analysis sought to link behavioural choices to specific life situations faced by the subjects. It did this by taking as its starting point a claim made by Tajfel (1978) and a number of Self-Categorisation theorists (see Chapter 2), but never adequately developed, that social identity is situation-specific. The self consists of a range of self-categorisations, each one associated with prescriptions for action, and each self-categorisation salient ('switched on') in a specific range of situations. Behaviour cannot be understood independently of its context.

Detailed examination of the data in the light of this starting point suggested that this idea could usefully be developed by regarding these behavioural choices as responses to challenges or problems posed by the individual's social and material life world. The notion was developed of social identity as an adaptative resource, the process whereby the individual responds to the day-to-day problems of his or her life circumstances. Identity was conceptualised as a resource for dealing with social situations or in other words an adaptative mechanism for tackling the social and material conditions of daily existence.

The new term 'adaptative' has been coined in preference to the existing term 'adaptive' with the express intention of distancing the idea from the evolutionary connotations of 'adaptation'. The term 'adaptive' is rejected because of its deterministic implications; it could be interpreted to suggest an individual who reacts passively to the demands of the social world. This new term is coined specifically to highlight the dynamic and dialectical nature of the interaction between individual and social context in the process of social identity formation, and the active role of the individual in the process of identity construction. As will become evident in Chapter 2, the author is committed to Leonard's (1984) notion of a dialectical relationship between individual and society, where the individual responds to the demands of the social order in varying degrees of submission or resistance. In Bhaskar's (1979) terms, in the process of constructing an identity, the individual may serve not only adapt to or "reproduce" the existing social order in response to social imperatives, but also to "transform" it.

Against the background of an assumed link between group memberships and behavioural options, as well as the conceptualisation of identity as an adaptative resource used by individuals to respond to social demands, a coding frame was developed that sought to associate behavioural choices and group memberships with a series of adaptative challenges facing township youth. These adaptative challenges consisted of the demands made by the material and social world on the youth. Once the coding frame had been developed, the data were analysed with the view to answering the following questions:

1. What are the most influential group memberships in the social identity of township youth?
2. What are the adaptative challenges facing the subjects in their day to day lives?
3. What are the most common behavioural options associated with each adaptative challenge?
4. What gender differences exist in the social identity of township youth (in terms of differences in the respective influence of different group memberships and gender-specific behavioural options associated with each challenge)?.

In this thesis an account of the social identity of township youth is developed from the starting points outlined above.

As the title indicates, gender has been chosen as a specific focus of the current research. This chapter has already referred in general terms to the 'social amnesia' that characterises mainstream social psychology, and to the fact that a politically relevant social psychology has to include attention to the social context of individual experience and behaviour. Parker (1989) suggests that a key dimension of the broader social context that needs to be taken seriously by social psychologists is that of **power.** Leonard (1984) identifies three dimensions of power, namely those of race, class and gender. In Chapter 2 it will be argued that the individual's position on the social power hierarchy of race, class and gender relations will play a crucial role in shaping his or her experience and behaviour. Against this background it will be argued that power relations of race, class and gender should form a central dimension of enquiry in a politically relevant social psychology.

Gender was highlighted as a key area of interest in the author's earlier research into the effects of apartheid and capitalism on working class African township family life, which served as pilot study for the current project (see Section 4.1). This pilot study

pointed to major contradictions in the role of women in the family. In certain respects it appeared that women played a pivotal role in ensuring the cohesion of both family and community life. On the other hand, patriarchal family ideologies appeared to undermine women in their fight to hold the family and the community together. This prompted an interest in the role played by the family and other group memberships in the reproduction or transformation of patriarchal social relations in working class township communities. This interest in gender relations was further encouraged by current events in South Africa, where there is a growing sense of urgency around the problem of drawing women into the political arena in a more significant way, and general agreement amongst activists in community, political and worker organisations that this is not an easy task. Against this background questions regarding those factors that serve to encourage or inhibit the involvement of women in political organisation and community leadership have become central to those South Africans who regard the elimination of gender inequalities in addition to those of race and class as key tasks in the construction of a democratic 'New South Africa'.

Against this background, gender was chosen as the central focus of the current research in preference to race or class, accepting of course that these three dimensions of power are "inextricably intertwined" (Anderson and Collins, 1992, p. 48; see Section 2.4). One of the goals of this thesis will be to illustrate the role played by social identity in the reproduction or transformation of unequal gender relations in the lives of working class black township youth. In the light of this evidence some general conclusions will be drawn about the potential of social identity theory for understanding the reproduction or transformation of power relations in general. The thesis will conclude that an extended social identity theory could serve as a useful theoretical tool in political debates about social change.

2 THEORETICAL CONTEXT: SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

The backbone of this chapter is the issue of the individual-society relationship, the "master problem" of social psychology (Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p. 6). This issue has also been identified as the motivation behind much of Tajfel's work (Bruner, 1981), as well as the impetus behind the social identity tradition founded by Tajfel, and pursued by a generation of researchers after him. What contribution can social identity theory make to an understanding of the individual-society relationship? The chapter contains an account of the social identity tradition as articulated both in Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Turner's Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT). This is followed by an assessment of the progress made to date by SIT and SCT from which the conclusion is drawn that both of these traditions are still characterised by reductionistic and individualistic ways of thinking despite assertions to the contrary. Neither have as yet produced either theories or methods that succeed in integrating an adequate notion of the social into their account of individual experience and behaviour.

Thus the challenge to social identity theorists remains: to forge a non-reductionist social identity theory with which to explore the social dimension of human behaviour. Such a theory would take account of the dynamic relationship between individual and society without individualising or sociologising this relationship. This thesis is situated within the context of this challenge.

2.1 Introduction

As already stated, the theoretical goal of this thesis is to examine the potential of social identity theory in the Tajfel/Turner tradition for investigating social identity under conditions of rapid social change. Tajfel's agenda for social identity theory appeared to be a promising development in the history of social psychology. Prior to Tajfel's work, social psychology had generally been shadowed by a narrowly reductionist approach to social behaviour, where the social group had usually been explained in terms of the properties of the individual. Theorists had failed to explore the social dimension of

human behaviour or to take account of the dynamic relationship between individual and society. The 1970's saw the beginning of a large literature expressing concern about the discipline's failure to develop an adequate notion of 'the social' and there was general agreement that the field was in a state of profound "crisis" (Billig 1976, Elms 1975, Pepitone 1981, Sampson 1977, 1981, Steiner 1974, Wexler 1983).

Doise (1986) outlines four potential levels of analysis in social psychology:

i) the INTRA-PERSONAL, stressing factors such as internal sources of motivation, psychodynamic properties or cognitive mechanisms

ii) the INTER-PERSONAL, stressing interactional processes between individuals within a given situation

iii) the POSITIONAL, stressing differences in social position such as gender, class or race, which are socially based, and which are constituted outside of the boundaries of any particular study or experiment, and

iv) the IDEOLOGICAL, referring to the widespread ideas, values, representations and practices which serve to legitimate and maintain the existing social order.

For the purposes of the present project, the third and fourth levels (the POSITIONAL and the IDEOLOGICAL) will be collectively referred to as the SOCIETAL level. This project will adopt Leonard's (1984) definition of ideology as that system of social beliefs that serves to maintain/justify positional differences in society (see Section 2.4). Leonard's definition of ideology thus presupposes the existence of positional differences. It is suggested that the mere existence of positional differences in themselves is not a matter of primary interest to social psychologists, whose central concern is rather with the *relationships of these social differences* to individual human experience and behaviour. In terms of the distinction between the intra-personal, inter-personal and societal levels of analysis the crisis literature's claims that social psychology was 'reductionist' referred to the discipline's failure to accommodate the societal level of analysis in its formulations, and its tendency to reduce human social behaviour to the inter-individual level of analysis at best, and to the intra-individual level of analysis at worst. (This is the meaning of the term reductionism that will be used throughout this thesis.)

In this project the critique of reductionism in social psychology will be geared towards making two related points. The first point is that human behaviour and experience cannot be understood independently of the determining function of the social order. The second point is that this incomplete analysis has resulted in social psychological theories that have little practical usefulness in understanding concrete social problems.

However there is a third important effect of this reductionism that must not be forgotten although it will not be dealt at any length in this thesis: the role played by reductionist social scientists in legitimising racist, patriarchal and capitalist social relations (Wexler, 1983). Reductionism reinforces and perpetuates the existing social order by locating causes of social problems such as racism in the psychology of individual. This serves to leave unchallenged the social structures that perpetuate such problems (Henriques et al., 1984). The role played by psychologists as "servants of power" in legitimating apartheid relations in South Africa has been well documented (Fullagher and Paizis 1986, Nzimande 1985, Webster 1986, Louw and Foster 1991).

Tajfel's work promised to breathe new life into social psychology in its attempts to solve the discipline's 'master problem', viz. the relationship between the individual and the group.

> "(Social psychology) aims at the integration of the psychological functioning of individuals with the social settings, small and large, in which this functioning takes place. We look ... at individual behaviour as it interacts with its social context, and as it, more often than not derives from that context. Most of human action is social interaction. Much of it is created by social interaction which shapes and modifies even those of our activities which often appear to us as individually determined." (Tajfel and Fraser, 1978, pp17-18, my emphasis)

This chapter is arranged in three sections. In section 2.2 brief comments on the historical context of Tajfel's work are provided. In section 2.3 an account of social identity theory in the Bristol tradition is given. In section 2.4 the theory is critically evaluated in the light of Tajfel's own explicitly stated goal to develop a theory that would move away from social psychology's "common neglect of the insertion of individual or inter-individual behaviour and experience into wider social frameworks" (Tajfel, 1981, p15). Having considered some of its limitations, in Section 2.5 the main strengths of social identity theory are highlighted. In this section the six features of the theory that serve as the building blocks for the current research are outlined.

2.2 Historical background to Tajfel's work

One of Tajfel's most well-known books, *Human groups and social categories*, brings together a number of his publications dating back to 1957. In an autobiographical note in the introduction, Tajfel reviews his intellectual development and the growth of his interest in inter-group relations (in particular inter-group conflict and prejudice) in terms of the convergence of his personal and academic experience.

He outlines his personal experience as a French prisoner-of-war in a German prison-of-war camp in the second world war:

> "In May 1945, after I had been disgorged with hundreds of others from a special train ... with its crammed prisoners-of-war returning from camps in Germany, I soon discovered that hardly anyone I knew in 1939 - including my family - was left alive. In one way or another this led to six years of working in various ways and in various European countries for organisations which bravely tried with insufficient means to stem the flood of misery; their task was the rehabilitation of victims of war - children and adults. This was the beginning of my interest in social psychology." (Tajfel, 1981, p1-2)

After six years of post-war rehabilitation work, Tajfel became a student of social psychology in Britain, and began the academic work that would gradually converge with his personal experiences and lead him into the field of inter-group relations. His early academic experiences as a researcher in Durham and Oxford in the 1950's took him into the field of cognitive psychology, and in particular the area of perceptual over-estimation. However, under the influence of his personal experience of inter-group aggression, his interests gradually moved him beyond the traditional boundaries of intra-individualistic cognitive processes towards an interest in the psychological aspects of concrete social problems. Over a period of 20 years, he began to apply his findings on perceptual over-estimation to the phenomenon of social stereotyping. From here his interest progressed to include the phenomenon of prejudice, and finally to a consideration of "the social psychological realities of conflict between human groups", and his insistence that:

> "... dealings between groups cannot be accounted for by the psychology of the individual ... the social conditions in which people live largely determine their beliefs and the extent to which they are shared." (Tajfel, 1981, p34).

Tajfel's work has historical significance in the field of social psychology because of his insistence that social psychology has to take account of the social dimension, and that inter-group relations cannot be explained in terms of the constructs of individual psychology.

Hogg and Abrams (1988) cite the conceptualisation of the social as the core problem of social psychology.

> "The issue concerns whether there is or is not something fundamentally different about the behaviour of an individual alone and in a group. There are many ramifications to this issue. Is an individual alone behaving socially? Is the behaviour of a group simply an aggregate of the behaviour of individuals on their own? Is group behaviour psychologically distinct and qualitatively different from individual behaviour?" (p11)

A criticism that has frequently been levelled at social psychology is its historical tendency to regard societal processes and structures as the products of the individuals composing them, and to focus on the individual as the proper subject of social psychological endeavour (Foster, 1991). This sentiment is embodied in Allport's often cited proclamation that "there is no psychology of groups that is not essentially and entirely a psychology of the individual" (1924, p6). Allport's proclamation set the tone for most of the social psychological research conducted between the 1920's and 1960's. If societal processes and structures were merely the products of the individuals composing them, then the proper subject of social psychology would necessarily be the individual. An important move away from this tradition of pervasive reductionism was the work of the Sherifs, resulting in Sherif and Sherif's outline of Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT) (Sherif 1966, Sherif and Sherif 1969).

RCT represents an important landmark in the social psychology of inter-group relations since, unlike other theories and research in social psychology at the time, the Sherifs work took into account the properties of groups themselves without resorting to intra-individual and interpersonal constructs in their investigation of the source of inter-group conflict. This work took the form of three elegantly designed field studies with 11 and 12 year old boys at summer camps. Each field study was designed to allow for the development of different patterns of inter-group behaviour.

In their explanation of their findings, the Sherifs suggested that inter-group relations were determined by the functioning of competitive and superordinate goals in inter-group situations. Their theory outlined the following two principles of inter-group behaviour. (i) Inter-group conflict is caused by incompatible goals or competition between groups over scarce resources; and (ii) superordinate goals or cooperative activities between groups induce social harmony.

The radical nature of the Sherifs' work lies in their accommodation of a non-psychological social dimension (that of objective material interests) in their account of inter-group conflict. De la Rey (1991) however points out that while their account of the causes of inter-group conflict were adequately social, the Sherif's weak point in this regard was their suggestion for the solution to group conflict. Their solution, to establish superordinate goals to unite previously competing groups, is an individualistic and reductionistic one. In suggesting a psychological solution (i.e. the changing of peoples' perceptions of each other through introducing superordinate goals) for the problem of inter-group conflict they omit the real material sources of conflict. De la Rey comments on the shortcomings of this view when applied to a real-life social conflict, for example inter-race conflict in South Africa:

> "The solution to conflict in South Africa lies in a redistribution of resources so that both blacks and whites have equal access to scarce resources. Without addressing the material causes of conflict there can be little hope for sustained inter-group harmony. Merely changing group members' perceptions of group interests is not likely to achieve real social change." (De la Rey, 1990, p40)

While the Sherifs' work was hailed as important and radical against the general backdrop of social psychology's reductionistic tendencies, it did not generate a research tradition (Billig, 1976). Furthermore an important experimental finding (resulting from the minimal group experiments) not only called into question the basic propositions of the Sherifs' RCT, but also provided the foundation stone of Tajfel's SIT. This finding suggested that the mere division of individuals into groups constituted a sufficient condition for the appearance of inter-group behaviour. As early as 1969, Tajfel proposed that inter-group bias might be a direct result of individuals' perceptions that they belong to a common social category. This proposition was investigated in a series of studies which are collectively referred to as the minimal group studies. This point takes us to the next section of this chapter, where we turn our attention to Tajfel's development of social identity theory.

These findings appear to have diverted attention away from the Sherifs' important attempts to include objective material conditions in their account of inter-group relations. While Tajfel's theoretical writings on social identity have stressed the need to include this level of analysis in social psychological theorising, on the whole this theoretical intention has not been reflected in the concrete research programmes of Tajfel, Turner and several later social identity theorists.

2.3 Social identity theory in the Bristol tradition

Two interwoven issues constitute social identity theory in the Bristol tradition developed by Tajfel and Turner. The first of these,the PROCESS of social identity formation, involves both the processes of social categorisation and social comparison, and the strategies used by individuals to achieve a positive social identity. The second issue, the STRUCTURE of social identity, involves the notion of the self-concept.

There are two distinguishable phases in the historical development of social identity theory. It has become common practice in recent literature (e.g. Turner et al. 1987, Hogg and McGarty 1990) to refer to the first phase as that of Social Identity Theory (SIT) and the second phase as that of Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT), both falling under the generic term of social identity theory.

i) SIT and SCT

SIT refers to Tajfel's work (1978, 1981, 1982, Tajfel and Turner 1979) which was initially elaborated in order to distinguish theoretically between inter-group and interpersonal relations, and to establish a non-reductionist social psychology of inter-group relations and inter-group processes. SIT was concerned mainly with inter-group relations and the mechanisms of social change. In the late 1970's there was a shift in theoretical emphasis by some social identity researchers towards intra-group processes and an investigation of the social group as a psychological entity (Turner 1982, Turner et al. 1987). This new emphasis goes under the title of Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT), that branch of social identity theory that seeks to explicate the fundamental cognitive mechanisms underlying social identity and group processes.

Turner describes the relationship between SIT and SCT as follows:

> "Self-Categorisation Theory is ... an attempt to spell out in an explicit fashion the assumptions we need to make about psychological group formation ... In doing this it makes use of and develops ... the concept of social identity itself and the assumption of an 'interpersonal-inter-group continuum' of social behaviour." (Turner et al., 1987, p. viii)

Turner also points to two important differences between the two theories. The first difference is that while SIT focussed on the achievement of positive in-group distinctiveness as a major explanatory notion, SCT makes social categorisation itself the social-cognitive basis of group behaviour and the mechanism that makes it possible. The second difference is that while SIT associates the different ends of the interpersonal-inter-group continuum with qualitatively different behaviour (referred to as 'acting in terms of the self' and 'acting in terms of the group'), SCT considers both group and individual behaviour as 'acting in terms of self', the difference lying only in the level of abstraction at which the self is operating.

These differences will become evident in the accounts of SIT and SCT that follow. In addition it will be suggested that Tajfel's SIT was developed in the context of the attempt to establish a truly 'social' social psychology, one which is concerned with the interaction of individual behaviour and social context. On the other hand the change of emphasis of SCT directs social identity theory back towards the intra-individual level of analysis and away from the other two levels (inter-individual and societal) that Tajfel was so keen to integrate into social identity theory.[5] Thus while SCT is undoubtedly an

5 One exception to this comment is Reicher's chapter in Turner et al. (1987), which is referred to below.

important and elegant extension of the theory, it makes no contribution to the social aspect of social psychology. However it does provide a useful starting point for the current project in the potential it provides for linking self-categorisations to action.

ii) The minimal group experiments

The 'beginning' of the social identity tradition is often traced to the minimal group studies first conducted in the 1960's (Tajfel 1969, 1970, Tajfel et al. 1971), and later referred to as the "minimal group paradigm" (Turner 1978, Turner et al. 1979). These experiments suggested that the mere perception by individuals that they belonged to a social group was enough to result in inter-group bias. The term 'minimal group' refers to the method used in the studies. Their purpose was to identify the basic or minimal conditions under which inter-group bias would emerge. In order to create minimal group conditions, all variables characteristically associated with real-life group memberships were removed. Subjects were ostensibly assigned to groups on the basis of some unimportant criterion, for example the tossing of a coin. Group members did not know who their fellow members were, nor was there any face-to-face interaction, or any expectation or history of such interaction:

> "There is neither conflict of interest nor previously existing hostility between the 'groups'. No social interaction takes place between the subjects, nor is there any rational link between economic self-interest and the strategy of in-group favouritism. Thus these groups are purely cognitive and can be referred to as 'minimal'." (Tajfel and Turner, 1979, pp. 38-9).

Subjects in these minimally constituted groups were required to divide monetary rewards between an in-group member and an out-group member. Results of these studies indicated that subjects were competitive, the consistently discriminated in favour of the in-group, allocating more to in-group than to out-group members, and trying to maximise or differentiate in-group profit.

What emerges from the minimal group studies is that mere social categorisation, the discontinuous classification of individuals into two distinct groups, is sufficient to generate inter-group competition. Against this background, the notion of social categorisation has become a central explanatory construct in both SIT and SCT. Each of these foci is now considered in turn.

iii) SIT on social categorisation and comparison

As already stated in Chapter 1, the standard textbook definition of SIT states that social identity is "the individual's knowledge that he (*sic*) belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p31), where a social group is "two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves, or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category" (Turner, 1982, p15). Identity and group belongingness are inextricably interwoven in the sense that one's self-conception is composed of self-descriptions in terms of the defining characteristics of social groups to which one belongs.

SIT rests on two pillars: the interlocking cognitive processes of social categorisation and social comparison, and the motivational process of self-enhancement. These cognitive and motivational processes are now examined in turn.

Looking first at the cognitive processes, social categorisation simplifies perception. Because people are unable to process the infinite barrage of information in the environment, they develop 'short-cuts', categorising objects and people into groups. They do this according to the cognitive process of categorical differentiation. The complexity of the environment is reduced by the accentuation of differences between groups and similarities within groups.

> "The cognitive process of categorisation simplifies perception. It is fundamental to the adaptive functioning of the human organism, as it serves to structure the potentially infinite variability of stimuli into a more manageable number of distinct categories. Effectively it brings into focus a nebulous world ..." (Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p. 19).

The early classic experiments on categorisation (e.g. Tajfel and Wilkes 1963) focussed on peoples' perceptions of the lengths of individual lines. For example they found that in judging the length of individual lines from a continuous series, where the four shorter lines were labelled A and the four longer lines labelled B, subjects significantly exaggerated the difference in length between A-type and B-type lines. They also tended to overestimate the similarity in length of lines having the same label.

Tajfel extended his conclusions on the perception of physical stimuli to apply to the perception of social stimuli, arguing that the same kinds of cognitive distortions operated in both types of categorising, and that the accentuation effect also occurred in the judgment of social stimuli, in other words, people.

> "Social categorisation is a process of bringing together social objects or events in groups which are equivalent with regard to an individual's actions, intentions and systems of beliefs." (Tajfel, 1981, p. 254)

The result of social categorisation is the division of the social world into a network of in-group and out-group memberships.

Categorisation generates accentuation only on those perceptual dimensions that are believed to be relevant to the categorisation (e.g. qualities such as nurturing or interest in housework might be accentuated in male/female categorisations, whereas qualities such as size of house or car might be accentuated in rich/poor categorisations). Basically the categorisation process produces stereotypic perceptions of all members of a social category or group as sharing some characteristic(s) which distinguish them from some other social group. The particular dimensions on which this occurs are those subjectively believed to distinguish between categories, with the origin of these subjective beliefs being found in the cultural history of the society in which one lives. For Tajfel the fact that social categorisations originated in the social dimension provided an important point of intersection of the intra-individual or cognitive aspects of social identity on the one hand, and the concrete social context of individuals on the other.

> "The interaction between socially-derived value differentials on the one hand and the cognitive 'mechanics' of categorisation on the other is particularly important in all social divisions between 'us' and 'them' i.e. in all social categorisations in which distinctions are made between the individual's own group and the out-groups which are compared or contrasted with it ... The acquisition of value differentials between one's own group (or groups) and other groups is part and parcel of the general processes of socialisation." (Tajfel, 1981, p. 254)

Unlike our categorisation of objects (e.g. tables, birds), the perception of social groups is characterised by an evaluative (positive or negative) and an emotional (feelings of like, dislike) component. Tajfel (1978, 1981) proposed that the addition of the emotional and evaluative components in the process of social categorisation resulted in a more emphatic accentuation of perceived intra-group similarities and perceived inter-group differences. This principle of accentuation is believed to be at the root of the use of social stereotypes and prejudice.

Furthermore, unlike our perceptions of tables or birds, the categorisation of people is not conducted in an objective and detached way, but with reference to ourselves. People tend to classify others on the basis of their similarities and differences to the self. They constantly perceive others as members of the same category as the self (in-

group members) or as members of a different category from the self (out-group members). This notion of in-group out-group distinctions leads us to a consideration of the second of SIT's interlocking cognitive processes. This is the process of social comparison, whereby we compare and evaluate the self as an in-group member and the other as out-group member, or compare the in-group to the out-group as a whole. According to Tajfel there is a tendency to maximise inter-group distinctiveness and to differentiate between groups on as many dimensions as possible.

Thus the process of categorisation of individuals into groups, providing "a system of orientation that creates and defines an individual's place in society" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255), is achieved by the process of social comparison between that individual's own group and other groups, within the context of the individual's insertion into a multi-group social structure. The characteristics of one's group as a whole (such as wealth or skin colour) achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotation of these differences. For example economic deprivation acquires its importance in social attitudes, intentions and actions mainly when it becomes "relative deprivation".

> "A group becomes a group in the sense of being perceived as having common characteristics or a common fate mainly because other groups are present in the environment." (Tajfel, 1981, p. 258)

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) an important motivational principle guides social comparisons: the fundamental individual motive for self-esteem. In the process of social comparison we tend to accentuate those in-group differences that reflect favourably upon the in-group. By differentiating in-group from out-group behaviour on dimensions on which the in-group falls at the evaluatively positive pole, the in-group acquires a positive distinctiveness, and a relatively positive social identity in comparison to the out-group. This relatively positive self-evaluation endows the individual with a sense of well-being, enhanced self-worth and self-esteem. Thus the process of social comparison accounts for the selectivity of the accentuation effects of the categorisation process, ensuring that accentuation occurs mainly on self-enhancing dimensions.

The outcome of this process of social comparison is a graduation of differences, a status hierarchy. If one group is perceived to be superior to another on some relative dimension, it has high status. If it is perceived to be inferior it has low status. Perceived status determines whether group membership contributes positively or negatively to the individual's social identity. If the results of comparisons between in-

groups and out-groups confer high status to the in-group, its members will have a positive social identity. If on the other hand, social comparison leads to low status for the in-group, the individual will have negative social identity.

Since individuals have a need for positive self-esteem, SIT suggests that if the outcome of social comparison results in a negative social identity for in-group members, these individuals will try and achieve some type of change so as to achieve a positive social identity. A group member's response to a negative social identity will depend on the availability of cognitive alternatives to the current status hierarchy. Tajfel predicted that in the absence of cognitive alternatives to the status quo (the condition of secure social identity where the perceived legitimacy and/or perceived stability of the status quo are high), group members are likely to adopt an individualistic strategy to achieve a positive social identity. Social mobility is the term describing the attempt made by an individual to move from a low status group to a group with higher status. In such a case society's status hierarchy remains unchanged. In cases where low status groups perceive the social order to be unstable, and where cognitive alternatives to the status quo are available (insecure social identity associated with low legitimacy and/or perceived stability), Tajfel predicts the use of social change strategies which involve the use of collective attempts to change the social position of the in-group. The most radical of these strategies is social action, including actions such as political protest, strikes and revolutions aimed at restructuring the social order. A less radical strategy aimed at altering the negative social identity of in-group members is social creativity, an attempt to redefine some existing group characteristic in positive terms (e.g. the 'black is beautiful' slogan of the black consciousness movement).

According to SIT, the cognitive processes of social categorisation and social comparison, and the motivational strategy of self-enhancement operate together to generate a specific form of behaviour: group behaviour. The particular relevance of these principles according to Tajfel lies in the role that they play in inter-group relations. For Tajfel, inter-group relations involved phenomena such as the development of national and ethnic identities, the nature of prejudice and the psychology of minority groups.

iv) SIT on the structure of social identity

> "One's identity or conception of who one is is largely composed of self-descriptions in terms of the defining characteristics of the groups to which one belongs." (Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p. 7)

SIT accounts for the structure of the self, also referred to as the self-concept, in terms of two relatively distinct sub-systems, those of personal identity and social identity. The existence of these two subsystems is based on the distinction made in social identity research between two qualitatively different kinds of behaviour, viz. interpersonal and inter-group behaviour (Tajfel and Turner 1979, Tajfel 1972, 1974, 1978). Tajfel proposed that all human interaction falls somewhere along a continuum of behaviour that is anchored at the two extremes. At the one extreme there is purely inter-personal or inter-individual behaviour which occurs when the social interaction between two persons is determined solely by their unique individual characteristics. At the other extreme there is purely inter-group behaviour which occurs when the interaction is wholly determined by the participants' membership in various groups.

Thus for example an interaction between two people may be either inter-personal or inter-group, depending on whether the content of the interaction is governed by their personal characteristics (e.g. let me cook you some *boerewors* (sausage) because it is my favourite meal) or group identification (e.g. let me cook you some *boerewors* since this is something that certain South Africans consider to be a delicacy). Tajfel comments that instances of purely inter-personal or purely inter-group behaviour are seldom evident in behaviour.

The theory predicts differences in behaviour as the individual shifts from the inter-personal to the inter-group end of the continuum. The nearer the social situation to the inter-group end of the continuum, the more unity members of the in-group will show towards members of out-groups. In contrast there will be a decrease in uniformity of behaviour as the situation shifts towards the inter-personal end of the continuum.

Turner (1982) developed the notion of the self-concept as comprising the totality of self-identifications available to the individual. These self-identifications fall into one of two relatively separate subsystems of the self-concept: namely personal identity and social identity. Social identity consists of self-descriptions deriving from membership in social categories (such as nationality, sex, race, occupation, and sports teams). An example of such a group membership is the social category of Englishman (associated with tepid beer, pubs and the Royal Family). Personal identity consists of personal identifications, self-descriptions that are more personal in nature and refer to idiosyncratic attributes of the individual. An example of personal identity would be Son of X (associated with characteristics such as aggravating his mother at tea time, desiring more allowance money) (Examples from Hogg and Abrams, 1988).

SIT is concerned with the social identity end of the continuum. The theory maintains that under certain conditions social identity is more salient than personal identity, and under such conditions a form of behaviour that is qualitatively different to inter-personal behaviour will result, called group behaviour. Social identity involves the process whereby the individual becomes part of a social group and the group becomes part of the individual's self-concept. It has been identified as one of the main social psychological constructs underlying the manifestation of group behaviour. According to Turner (1982, 1984) a shift on the behavioural continuum from inter-personal to inter-group behaviours corresponds to, and is the result of, a transition in self-concept functioning from personal to social identity. In any given social situation a different part or combination of the parts of the self-concept may be salient or 'switched on'. In some situations one's personal identity may be salient, but in others social identity may become salient. When the latter occurs, inter-group behaviour results.

This distinction is problematical for a number of reasons, not the least of them being the logical problem of asserting that phenomena which exist on a continuum (inter-personal and inter-group identity) are associated with behaviour that is qualitatively different in nature (inter-personal and inter-group behaviour). As we have already pointed out, Turner moves away from this differentiation of the inter-group and inter-personal dimensions as representing distinguishable subsystems of the self-concept associated with qualitatively different behaviour (Turner et al. 1987). He replaces this notion with a model of the self as operating at different levels of abstraction in inter-personal and inter-group situations, but in both situations "acting in terms of the self" (see next section). However this highly problematic interpersonal-intergroup distinction has still not been eradicated from social identity tradition. It makes its appearance once again in Hogg and McGarty (1990) and Hogg and Abrams (1988) despite the latter's explicit rejection of reductionism at another point in the very same chapter. This tendency to refer to *the personal or the individual* as if these notions had any meaning or existence independently of social context, is an example of the reductionism that characterises social identity theory.

Duveen and Lloyd (1986) criticise this problematic tendency within social identity theory to speak as if there was indeed a "distinction between the individual as unique, and the individual construed within a social framework" (p. 219). They argue that this distinction might have been a socially and historically specific social construction serving as a useful tool for certain forms of mainstream "quantitative psychology". However it has outlived its usefulness in relation to social psychology in general and social identity theory in particular.

> "... individuals are so inextricably interwoven in a fabric of social relations within which their lives are lived that a representation of the 'individual' divorced from the 'social' is theoretically inadequate. There is no pure 'individuality' which can be apprehended independently of social relations. The complex interrelations of the individual and the social mean that, in effect, an individual is inconceivable as a viable entity without a sustaining network of social relations. It is ... useless to attempt to separate these two terms ..." (Duveen and Lloyed, 1986, p. 219)

It is suggested that writers such Hogg and McGarty (1990, p. 10-11) set contradictory goals for social identity theory in saying (in the same sentence) that the theory should simultaneously have two aims, viz. to:

i) "differentiate theoretically between inter-group and inter-personal relations" and

ii) "allow a non-reductionist social psychology of inter-group relations and inter-group processes".

A non-reductionist psychology should reject the possibility of an inter-personal dimension independent of the ever-present influence of group or social considerations.

v) SCT's development of the social identity perspective

SCT (Turner 1985, Turner et al. 1987, Turner and Oakes 1989) shifts its focus from an investigation of the social psychological dimensions of inter-group behaviour and conflict, to the intra-individual cognitive processes that are hypothesised to underlie group membership. Turner outlines this field of interest as an investigation into the "problems of psychological group formation and the psychological reality of group behaviour" (Turner et al., 1987, p. 1). What are the psychological processes whereby the individual comes to identify him or herself as a group member? What are the processes whereby people come to categorise themselves in terms of social categories?

SIT was concerned with explaining inter-group discrimination. Its explanation was based on the motivational hypothesis that individuals seek to differentiate their own groups positively from others in order to achieve a positive social identity. The theory held that people did this even when there was no objective conflict of interest. In contrast, Turner outlines the agenda of SCT as follows.

> "The current theory, developed later, is focussed on the explanation not of a specific kind of group behaviour, but of how individuals are able to act as a group at all. The basic hypothesis is a cognitive (or social cognitive) elaboration of the nature of social identity as a higher order level of abstraction in the perception of self and others." (Turner et al., p. 42, my emphasis)

While SIT generally uses the term "group memberships", SCT usually refers to "self-categorisations".

The bracketed nature of Turner's inclusion of the adjective "social" in describing SCT in the above quotation is a telling point that will be taken up below. It will be argued that while SCT is an important and interesting contribution to cognitive psychology, it makes no contribution to social psychology, if the master problem of social psychology is, indeed, as Hogg and Abrams (1988) suggest, an understanding of the individual-society interface.

Turner also distinguishes SCT from Tajfel's "specific analysis of the basic processes in inter-group discrimination, and its application to the explanation of real-life social conflict and change", stating that SCT is more concerned to produce a "general theory of group processes based on the idea that shared social identity depersonalises individual self-perception and action" (Foreword to Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p. x-xi, my emphasis). Apart from a few writers such as Skevington and Baker (1989) and Reicher (1987) (whose work will be referred to below), the focus of SCT has generally been away from "real-life" situations, much of the work being based on laboratory experiments, usually with artificially created groups.

The basic mechanism implicated in psychological group formation is the cognitive process of categorisation. This process accentuates similarities among stimuli belonging to the same category (be they physical, social or aspects of the self), and differences amongst stimuli belonging to different categories. This accentuation is based on those dimensions that believed to be correlated with the categorisation. This process serves the function of rendering the world subjectively meaningful and identifies those aspects of the world that are relevant to action in the particular context. This is the area of common ground between SIT and SCT.

With regard to the structure of the self-concept, Turner moves away from SIT's characterisation of the self in terms of the distinct sub-systems of personal identity and social identity. He characterises the self as a cognitive structure that functions at varying levels of abstraction. People categorise themselves at a number of different levels of abstraction. The three most important levels in the social self-concept are:

1. the superordinate level of humanity (which defines one's human identity, based on inter-species comparisons between oneself and others);
2. the intermediate level of in-group-out-group (which defines one's social identity, based on inter-group or intra-species comparisons between oneself and others); and

3. the subordinate level of self as unique from other in-group members (which defines one's personal identity, based on inter-personal or intra-group comparisons between oneself and others).

As the person moves from the subordinate to the intermediate level of abstraction a process called depersonalisation takes place. In other words a contextual change takes place in the level of identity. Turner defines the process of depersonalisation as:

> "... the process of self-stereotyping whereby people come to perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category than as unique personalities defined by their individual differences from others." (Turner et al., 1987, p50)

Categorisation of self and others at the level of social identity (the intermediate level) accentuates "the group prototypicality, stereotypicality or normativeness of people" (Hogg and McGarty, 1990, p. 13). The individual is depersonalised both perceptually and behaviourally in terms of the relevant in-group prototype. According to SCT, "the depersonalisation of self-perception is the basic process underlying group phenomena" (Turner, 1985, p99).

According to SCT, self-categorisation accomplishes two things.

> "It causes one to perceive oneself as 'identical' to, to have the same social identity as, other members of the category - it places oneself in the relevant social category, or places the group in one's head; and it generates category-congruent behaviour on dimensions which are stereotypic of the category. Self-categorisation is the process which transforms individuals into groups." (Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p21)

The last sentence of this quotation points to yet another manifestation of the reductionism inherent in SCT. Turner starts off by assuming the existence of individuals. Against this background, the purpose of SCT becomes the task of investigating the psychological processes whereby these individuals "become a group". Here he seems to imply that it is possible to conceive of individuals independently of their group membership, as well as ontologically prior to their group memberships. This chapter has already referred to Duveen and Lloyd's (1986) contention that the notion of an individual existing prior to and independently of group memberships is a meaningless one. Individuals are born into a pre-existing multi-group social system. It will be suggested that it is more useful to begin by assuming the that human beings are born into a pre-existing social structure. Against this background, the question would not be: 'how do individuals become groups?' but: 'how do groups instal themselves in the mind of the individual?'

It will also be argued that despite their emphasis on the importance of social context in understanding individual behaviour, in practice both SIT and SCT give an account of the existence of groups solely in terms of the cognitive processes associated with social categorisation. Both foci in the social identity tradition fail to give any account of the mechanisms whereby these these cognitively constituted groups relate to "real groups" in the social world. If it does not want to fall prey to charges of reductionism and idealism, social identity theory needs to broaden its gaze beyond the limits of individual and inter-individual cognitive processes to the external world. Reicher (1988) suggests that the relationship between categorisations and their "external referents" needs to be placed on the social psychologist's agenda:

> "The organisation of categories must, in some sense, match the organisation of the everyday world." (Reicher, 1988, p. 288)

The literature is littered with eloquent assertions of the close relationship between cognitive groups or self-categorisations and real groups, typified by the following claim by Tajfel:

> "Seen from this inter-group perspective of social identity, social categorisation can therefore be considered as a system of orientation which helps to create and define the individual's place in society. As Berger (1966): 'Every society contains a repertoire of identities that is part of the "objective knowledge" of its members .... Society not only defines but creates psychological reality. The individual realises himself in socially defined terms and these definitions become reality as he lives in society." (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255)

There is, however, little or no work that begins to theorise or develop research methodologies that tackle the interaction between self-categorisations and real-life groups or the mechanisms of this interaction. Later in this chapter it will be argued that two key preconditions for beginning to grasp this interaction are:

i) to focus on real-life people in the process of negotiating their social identity within changing social circumstances in the real world; and

ii) to make social change a key focus of theory/research.

It will be suggested that it is only under conditions of social change that one can "catch hold" of the interaction of individual and society (Vygotsky, 1978).

At certain stages both Tajfel and Turner try to justify their failure to take account of the interaction between individual and social by saying that the task of understanding society must be left to other disciplines. If this is the case, it is suggested that they ought not to claim to be social psychologists, if social psychology is defined as the

discipline that examines the individual-society interface. This point will be taken up later.

To continue with our account of SCT's views on the structure of identity, according to SCT, we do not subjectively experience the self-concept in its entirety, but as relatively discrete self-images that are dependent on context. SCT develops Tajfel's (1978) notion of the situation-specific nature of social identity. According to the theory, the social self-concept is situation-specific and context dependent insofar as specific social self-categorisations become salient or are brought into play (i.e. become the basis of perception and conduct) by variable features of the social field. The cognitive system, in seeking to maximise meaning in a specific context, generally 'switches on' the categorisation that best fulfils the interaction of the following two criteria: i) the accessibility of the category, based on current intentions and past experience; and ii) the fit between the stimuli and the category specifications (Oakes, 1983).

The categorisation that best fulfils the accessibility and fit requirements of the situation will be the one that best accounts for the similarities and differences among stimuli.

> "The process might be likened, illustratively, to a MANOVA with a very large number of both categorical dimensions and continuous variables. The salient category is that which accounts for the maximum variance." (Hogg and McGarty, 1990, p. 13)

The salience issue can also be approached by means of the principle of meta-contrast. This principle predicts that the salient category is the one which will simultaneously minimise intracategory differences and maximise intercategory differences within the social frame of reference (Turner et al., 1987).

Hogg and Abrams (1990) suggest that the fit x accessibility concept becomes the motivational argument for categorisation in SCT, replacing SIT's dependence on the primary motivational construct of self-enhancement. They comment that categorisation may be driven by a search for coherence.

> "... apparent motivation is explained in terms of a cognitive process seeking to organise information in terms of the most meaningful and thus parsimonious set of self and other categories. The motivation is for maximally meaningful structure, and this is satisfied by the categorisation process. The behavioural manifestation of this process may be inter-group discrimination, acquiescence, intra-group normative competition, elevated self-esteem, depressed self-esteem, in fact virtually anything, but predictable from sociocultural and other factors." (p. 47)

Thus it appears that SCT abandons the idea that the motive of self-esteem is the central motivational construct of social identity theory in favour of salience. Hogg and Abrams' (1990) suggest the motivational drive for self-categorisation is related to a search for meaning, according to socially and historically specific criteria. This is a fruitful idea, and one which points to the possibility of a more adequately social SCT.

> "Categorisation may be the underlying cognitive process which maximises meaning, but the form of the accompanying activity and nature of the self-evaluative outcome depends heavily on social context. Categorisation governs the parameters, which social context governs the specific form." (p. 47)

Hogg and Abrams make this point in the last sentence of an otherwise technical article, however, and unfortunately do not pursue it.

SCT has generated a wide range of research (see Abrams and Hogg, 1990, for some recent examples). As this chapter has suggested, much of this research is highly individualistic, technical and based on artificial groups in laboratory contexts. Examples may be found in chapters by Marquez; Perez and Mugny; Brewer and Schneider; and Abrams in Abrams and Hogg's (1990) work entitled *Social identity theory: constructive and critical advances*. On the inside cover this work is described as containing "exciting theoretical advances" in social psychological theory. Social amnesia still characterises much of the work that is done in the SCT tradition. It does so in spite of the lip-service paid to the importance of locating individuals within their social context in the 'Introductions' and 'Conclusions' to books on social identity.

The history of the social sciences is replete with assertions of the importance of taking social context into account in understanding individual behaviour. Reicher comments wryly on the lack of success achieved by the Marxists, Durkheimians and Symbolic Interactionists in their attempts to specify the actual processes whereby the social individual emerges. He cites the following quotation from Morris's (1934) introduction to Mead's *Mind, Self and Society*:

> "The magic hat of the social, out of which mind and the self were to be drawn, was in part loaded in advance: and for the rest there was merely a pious announcement that the trick could be done, while the performance itself never took place." (cited in Reicher, 1987, p. 180).

Morris' wry comment could justifiably be applied to the social identity tradition 50 years later. Abrams (1990), in a chapter in the 1990 Abrams and Hogg book, makes a similar point about the current reductionist state of social identity theory.

> "Social identity theory has emerged as one of the major critiques of individualism in social psychology. The essence of the argument is that social behaviour is

> explicable in terms of psychological states, structures or processes only to the extent that these represent shared social meanings. Increasingly, however, the processes which are specified by social identity theory and later self-categorisation theory emphasise individual cognition and motivation. It may be true that the macrosocial part of social identity theory contains a rudimentary conception of social structure, but explanation for behaviour still rests of the dual operation of cognitive (categorisation) and motivational (self-enhancement) processes within individuals." (Abrams, 1990, p. 89)

Despite these shortcomings however, there is a growing move in South Africa to regard social identity theory as an important potential way forward for psychologists concerned with understanding social groups outside the laboratory. In South Africa social psychologists are under increasing pressure to contribute to debates about social and political change, and to a better understanding of the obstacles that stand in the way of the transformation of unequal social relationships. Despite its historical shortcomings, social identity theory provides a "relatively open and flexible theoretical approach" for psychologists (Foster, p. 387). One of the goals of this thesis is to examine the way in which the theory could be expanded to incorporate attention to the role played by identity in securing or challenging relations of domination.

The area of research which forms the starting point for the present project is the work of SCT theorists in the areas of group conformity and crowd behaviour. The phenomenon of conformity to group norms is explained in terms of a process of self-categorisation referred to as "referent informational influence" (Turner 1982; Reicher 1987; Turner, Wetherell and Hogg 1989). This process may be outlined in terms of four steps:

i) a person defines him or herself as a member of a distinct social category;
ii) s/he becomes aware of the *stereotypical norms* or prototypical behaviours associated with that group or category
iii) when that self-categorisation becomes salient, the individual assigns these stereotypes to her/himself in order to define appropriate conduct in that context;
iv) therefore when category or group membership becomes salient, a person conforms to those attributes that define the category.

A particularly interesting development of the notion of referent influence is found in Reicher's (1987) work on crowd behaviour. Reicher moves out of the laboratory to focus on the St Paul's riot in Bristol, using this concrete real-life example of inter-group conflict to explain the processes underlying crowd violence. He does this in terms of a series of processes whereby categorisations of in-group and out-group develop in crowd situations and whereby particular behaviours (e.g. violence) become associated with such categorisations. Reicher's work provides and interesting account

of the dynamic interaction between the development of a crowd identity and associated behavioural possibilities on the one hand, and spontaneous social events on the other hand.

The four-step account of the process of conformity to group norms outlined above forms a useful building block for the current research, which takes the relationship between group memberships and their associated behavioural possibilities as its starting point. This point will be developed in some detail in Chapter 3 and subsequent chapters.

2.4 Critique of social identity theory's contribution to social psychology's 'master problem'

To what extent have Tajfel and his successors who developed the social identity tradition of SIT and SCT succeeded in establishing a 'truly social' social psychology? To what extent does the theory provide a useful research tool for meeting the substantive, theoretical and methodological goals of this thesis, as outlined in Chapter 1?

In his introduction to Tajfel (1981), Tajfel's friend and colleague Jerome Bruner suggests that one of the major intellectual challenges informing Tajfel's work was the issue of the locus of explanation of human behaviour, and an interest in theorising "the relation between individual, psychological functioning and large-scale social processes and events which shape this functioning and are shaped by it" (Bruner, 1981, p. 11-12).

Referring to Tajfel's preoccupation with the individual-society relationship as a central "energising conflict" in Tajfel's work, Bruner characterises it further thus:

> "Given these 'large-scale processes' and social structures, individual behaviour is channelled along certain lines that are only indirectly determined by the psychology of the individual. There is a constant interaction between the more structural 'superorganic' forces that animate the wider society and the individual reactions that appear superficially to be impelling human behaviour. For Tajfel, there can be no proper microscopic individual social psychology without specification of the social and cultural setting within which it occurs." (Bruner, in Tajfel, 1981, pxii).

Did Tajfel make progress in translating this broad theoretical goal (discussed frequently, according to Bruner, over many glasses of wine late into the night) into his concrete research? Did he make any progress in the task of establishing a non-reductionist understanding of inter-group conflict and persecution to which he and his family had fallen victim in his World War 2 experience?

To date neither SIT nor SCT have made substantial progress towards achieving this goal. Ironically the theories fall prey to the very criticism that Tajfel levelled at the mainstream social psychology he sought to improve upon.

> "Theories in social psychology have often been characterised by a strong correlation between the scope of their ambitions and the bluntness of their predictions or explanations." (Tajfel, 1981, p. 159)

Despite Tajfel's commitment to understanding the impact of society on individual experience and behaviour, the history of social identity theory in the Bristol tradition has failed to develop an adequate notion of the social and lacks relevance to an understanding of social problems. Billig (1976) reinforces the point made earlier in this chapter that the net effect of excluding societal variables from the study of social psychology is more than simply a lack of relevance to the practical project of confronting social problems in the real world. He comments that the work of such asocial social psychologists is politically conservative and conformist, serving to protect unjust social systems from criticism:

> "If society is ignored, or if it is considered as a constant scenario within which social psychological dramas must be enacted, then there can be no possibility for the development of a socially critical science." (p. 3)

The purpose of this project is to call for a return to Tajfel's original agenda for social psychology in general and social identity theory in particular. It sees itself as part of the endeavour to produce a social psychology capable of understanding the effects of the ever-changing social context on human behaviour (Tajfel, 1974). It will be argued that despite its historical shortcomings, social identity theory could be developed into a theoretical tool that avoided both the forms of social amnesia outlined above.

The remainder of this section examines the following inter-related conceptual and methodological obstacles that stand in the way of the attainment of a 'truly social' social identity theory which attempts to incorporate a non-reductionist notion of society into its formulations:

1. A methodological over-reliance on artificially constituted groups and laboratory experimental traditions,
2. the reduction of 'society' to 'the group', and a failure to locate group memberships against the background of social power relations,
3. the failure to take account of the interaction between individual and society, and
4. the failure to develop a dynamic account of identity that locates the process of identity formation and transformation within changing social conditions.

This and the next chapter will begin to point to ways in which social identity theory might be developed to begin to challenge some of these obstacles. Each of these obstacles is now discussed in turn.

Obstacle 1

It is suggested that a major obstacle that stands in the way of the development of an adequate notion of society is the theory's reliance on artificially constituted groups and laboratory experimental methodology. Methodologically speaking, despite the vociferous criticisms of laboratory experimental methods in much of the "crisis" literature, the social identity tradition has retained its faith in experimental methods, provided that these are "competent and carefully conducted experiments":

> "Laboratory experiments are not condemned outright, they are the appropriate empirical method for certain research questions. It is in this spirit that the social identity tradition has developed." (Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p9)

From its earliest origins in the minimal group experiments to Abrams and Hogg's (1990) book on "constructive and critical advances" in the theory, the tradition has relied very largely on artificially constructed groups in laboratory-type experimentally induced situations. This work has focussed on the process of identity, categorisation and comparison and their consequences for behaviour in small group laboratory experiments, where group memberships were assigned for the duration of the experiment, effectively separating the participants from their actual group experiences.

This "methodological tunnel vision" and "almost obsessive" over-reliance on experimental designs and quantitative techniques within a strictly positivist framework has led to a static and ahistorical conceptualisation of identity (Griffin, 1989, p188-189). Artificially created experimental groups bear (at best) little or (at worst) no resemblance to real groups in the real world. If the social identity tradition wants to

extend its insights beyond the ways in which artificially created groups behave in laboratories, then they should as a matter of urgency come out of the laboratory to study the social experience of real people in the real world. If, as Tajfel and his tradition have been at pains to point out, human experience cannot be understood independently of its social context, one cannot help but wonder at the absurdity of the method of studying social behaviour by removing individuals from the very social context that is believed to determine this behaviour.

> "In the minimal social situation, group membership is arbitrary and the meaning of the group is controlled by the experimenters, who restrict it by providing limited defining characteristics such as the Klee group or the Kandinsky group. This impoverishment of meaning is in sharp contrast with the saturated significance of socially constructed natural groups." (Lloyd, 1989, pviii)

A number of feminist psychologists have provided useful critiques of the limited ability of social psychology in general (e.g. Wilkinson, 1983) and of mainstream social identity theory in particular (e.g. Skevington and Baker, 1989) to contribute to the understanding and challenging of the social problem of the oppression of women. Skevington and Baker comment that in order to begin to develop theories that are socially useful researchers must come out of the laboratory.

> "Social identity must be studied using methods which accommodate the dimensions of real-life situations, and the wider social context, so addressing practical and political as well as theoretical issues." (1989, p. 1)

In contrast to the quantitative nature of most of the experimental research, they call for the development of qualitative methods. Research techniques should be designed to bring to light individuals' subjective interpretations of their own lived day-to-day reality, as well as to take into account the individual's personal history and social existence.

It is suggested that this detachment of social behaviour from its real-life context is one of the reasons why social identity theory has had so little to offer in the practical political arena. As early as 1976, Billig warned that the experimental tradition in social psychology was creating a tradition which was almost exclusively devoted to the analysis of person-to-person behaviour, with little or no attention to the world beyond the laboratory, and thus little potential relevance to an understanding of social problems.

> "... if the experimental findings are to be ultimately meaningful, then they must attempt to explain, or at least illustrate, real-life processes. The mini-worlds of the experimental situation will be irrelevant, unless they can be related theoretically in some way or another to the real world ... in making the

> connection between the laboratory and the real-world, one needs, at least, an implicit model of society. Such a model of society cannot itself be derived from laboratory experimentation, but must arise from a wider social analysis ... if social psychology is to make significant theoretical advances with respect to wider social issues, then it must be more closely allied than at present with theories of society." (p. 3)

Obstacle 2

Not only does social identity theory fail to take adequate account of the real-life social context of identity formation. It also fails to develop a theoretical or methodological conceptualisation of the individual-society interaction, and more particularly the interaction between cognitive processes such as self-categorisation and the concrete social world in which the individual is located.

Chapter 1 has already quoted Tajfel's account of social psychology's agenda:

> "(Social psychology is concerned with) ... *individual behaviour as it interacts with its social context*, and as it more often that not derives from that context ..." *(Tajfel and Fraser,* 1978, pp. 17-18, my emphasis)

While social identity theorists assert that the process of self-categorisation is located within a social context, they do not go very far in theorising or developing methodologies that take account of the dialectical relationship between individual and society.

As has been emphasised above, in practice social identity research has often completely ignored the rootedness of social identity in the social context. Turner (1987) justifies *this asocial tendency by saying that* knowledge of the social context would not help in an understanding of the psychological processes whereby social identity is formed and maintained. Here he involves himself in a problematic inconsistency. On the one hand he states that:

> "... individuals in their multiplicity cannot be opposed to or in reality distinguished from society; individuals are society and society is the natural form of being of human individuals ..." (1987, p. 203)

Yet on the other hand he asserts:

> "The task of social psychology as part of psychology ... is not to provide social explanations of behaviour ... but to explain the psychological aspects of society .... This equates with understanding the structures and processes whereby society is psychologically represented in and mediated by individual minds ..." (Turner and Oakes, 1986, p. 239)

As Jahoda (1986) has pointed out, there is a problematic contradiction between maintaining on the one hand that "individuals are society", whilst at the same time drawing a separation between psychological processes and social reality, and then choosing to focus on one at the expense of the other. Reid (1987) also criticises Turner.

> "One is reminded of Billig (1976) and Tajfel's (1982) remarks that social categories do not arise in a void, but are integrated to serve particular instrumental and ideological ends. Coherent psychological groups do not emerge from the sheer coincidence of individualistic psychological processes ... the net effect of this emphasis on the psychological over the social reality of groups is to lend a static and one-sided character to self-categorisation theory." (Reid, 1987)

This project will argue that one of the major challenges facing social identity theory at present is to tackle head-on the issue of the individual-society interaction.

Here it must be very strongly emphasised that while the author finds it useful to distinguish between the individual and society for analytic reasons, she by no means seeks to imply that it is possible to conceive of an individual that exists independently of society in the "dualistic" manner criticised by Henriques et al (1984). Section 2.3 has already quoted Duveen and Lloyd's (1986) contention that "there is no pure 'individuality' that can be apprehended independently of social relations" (p. 219), a contention which this author supports unreservedly.

It is obviously possible to focus one's explanation of identity at the intra-individual or inter-individual levels of analysis as mainstream social psychologists have done, and to generate elegant theories in the process. Such theorising is of limited value however when one moves beyond the confines of the laboratory or the experimental study and attempts to understand the processes underlying the social identity formation of real people in the real world. This focus is of limited value <u>for the very reason that</u> while this analytically abstracted individual might be conceivable within a laboratory or an experimental study, s/he simply does not exist in the real world.

Having pointed to the limited applicability of mainstream social identity theory for the endeavour of understanding real people in the real world, this author does not then simply conclude that social identity theory should be abandoned. As will be outlined more specifically in Section 2.5, notwithstanding its limitations, the theory <u>does</u> provide a useful starting point for an understanding of the cognitive mechanics of the process of identity formation. The author would by no means seek to argue that the study of cognitive processes is not an important field of psychological research. What she <u>would</u> seek to argue however is that to study cognitive processes in the way that

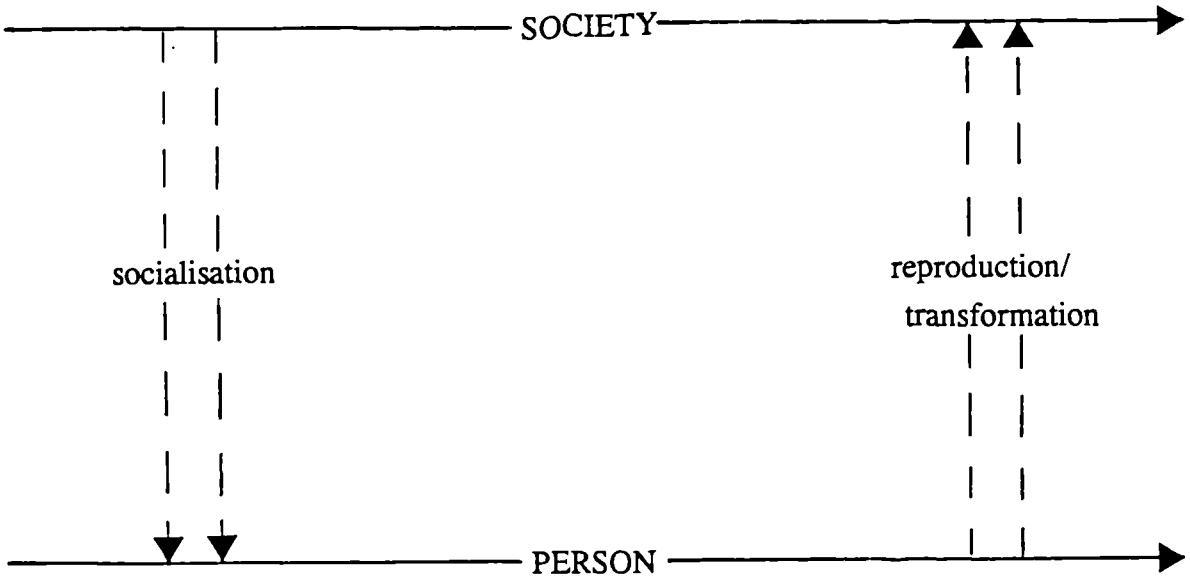
mainstream social identity theorists have done, does not contribute to the establishment of a 'truly social' social psychology.

Furthermore, if one wishes to apply social identity theory to the task of understanding the identity talk of real people in the real word, its rather narrow account of individual psychological processes needs to be dramatically extended to take account of the inextricably social nature of individuals outside of laboratories and experimental studies. The theory needs to be expanded to examine the operation of these psychological processes within a particular real world situation.

In other words, the starting point of this thesis is that the individual is inextricably grounded in the social and material world and cannot be understood outside of this context. References in this thesis to the individual (in the context of the individual-society relationship) refer to the social individual, and not to a unified or coherent bounded island, which exists separately of the social, and must then be 'related to it' by *social psychologists.*

Given that the starting point of the thesis is the inextricably intertwined nature of individual and society, one of goals of this thesis is to begin to unravel some of the processes whereby the cognitive individual interacts with the concrete social, material and historical world in the process of social identity construction.

Having provided an essential qualification of the way in which the term 'individual' is used in the context of this project's interest in the individual-society interaction, this section now proceeds to focus on Bhaskar's (1979, p. 46) model of "the society-person connection", which is adopted as a useful starting point for conceptualising this interaction.



According to Bhaskar, society presents itself to the individual through the process of socialisation. The individual's actions in turn serve either to reproduce or transform the society. In social identity terms this would mean that society presents the individual with a range of socially structured self-categorisations (with a range of associated behavioral options). The individual in return conducts his or her life in varying degrees of submission or resistance to the possibilities offered by the socially structured self-categorisations. In many cases individuals simply accept those behavioural options available to them. However in other cases, they may choose not to do so, for a number of reasons e.g. these options might not be suitable recipes for dealing with particular problems posed by the social and material world. Bhaskar's model suggests an active notion of the subject, actively participating in shaping the course of his or her life in the process of her on-going choice of behavioural options in the face of social demands. His diagrammatic representation of the society-person interaction and Leonard's "materialist theory of human consciousness" outlined below will be taken as the starting point for the present project's attempt to conceptualise the interaction of individual and society in the process of social identity construction.

Obstacle 3

This brings us to what is probably the most serious weakness in social identity theory, which has already been mentioned several times in this chapter. The theory persists in reducing 'society' to the arid and decontextualised notion of 'the group' or the 'self-categorisation', which is then explicated in terms of intra-individual or inter-individual processes. In other words, the theory fails to accommodate the societal level of analysis, ignoring the fact that group memberships are located against the background of a social hierarchy of unequal power relations. It is the contention of this project that group memberships cannot be understood independently of their location within a wider social power network. A distinction can be made between large scale social categories (e.g. class, gender, race) and small collections of people interacting with each other in the same place at the same time. Traditionally social identity theory has tended to focus on the latter under the label of 'the group'. Wexler (1983) and Henriques (1984) both criticise social psychology for failing to give more substantial recognition to the fact that the form and pattern of real-life social groupings is closely bound up with a complex set of social power relations. A 'truly social' social psychology would need to take account of the way in which social identity is shaped by and contributes to these power relationships.

Leonard (1984) outlines a "materialist framework for understanding human consciousness" which provides a suitable starting point for an expanded social identity theory, and one which takes seriously Tajfel's agenda to examine the interaction of social context and individual experience and behaviour. The term "materialist" draws attention to Leonard's insistence that human psychology cannot be understood independently of the material (economic and political) dimensions of human existence. Tajfel himself referred in passing to the close interaction of economic and psychological processes in inter-group conflict, but did not follow up this point in any detail:

> "An admittedly crude and over-simplified model of this interaction could look as follows: social and economic conditions leading to rivalry between groups for various kinds of objective benefits are associated with a diffusion of certain derogatory notions about the out-group ..." (Tajfel, 1981, p. 223)

The adoption of Leonard's theoretical framework is regarded as a way of beginning to expand social identity theory to pursue the line of thinking implicit in the above 'throwaway' remark by Tajfel. According to Leonard society is structured around a hierarchy of unequal social relationships based on the social divisions of race, gender and class. The power of dominant social groupings functions at two levels. At the

material level superordinate race, class and gender groups have privileged access to political power and economic wealth. At the ideological level the power of superordinate social groupings is bolstered by an ideology or set of beliefs that justifies their hold on this power and wealth[6]. The term ideology refers to those:

> "...mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought and the system of representation - which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works" (Leonard, 1984, p. 11).

These socially derived beliefs (which in the current project's terminology inform the group memberships and behavioural options available to individuals for social identity construction) have a specific social function viz. to try to preserve the power of the dominant social groupings in a particular society. Ideologies are generally conservative in nature. Their function is to conserve existing power relationships, ensuring that dominant social groupings continue to have privileged access to the particular society's power and wealth.

The ruling social groups usually have the power and resources to substantially influence the ideological beliefs of the subordinate group. They generally exercise control over social institutions such as the school, the workplace, the media and so on[7]. Through this control they are able to promote those ideological beliefs that are most likely to legitimate, justify and maintain existing power relations.

> "Societies comprise large scale social categories (race, sex ...) which stand in power, status and prestige relations to one another. The dominant group (or groups) has the material power to promulgate its own version of the nature of society, the groups within it and their relationships. That is, it imposes the dominant value system and ideology which is carefully constructed to benefit itself, and to legitimate and perpetuate the status quo. Individuals are born into this structure, and by virtue of their place of birth, skin colour, parentage ... fall into some categories and not others. To the extent that they internalise the dominant ideology and identify with these externally designated categories, they acquire particular social identities ..." (Hogg and Abrams, pp. 26-7).

Ideological beliefs function to preserve existing power relationships by suppressing the development of cognitive alternatives to the status quo. Any set of unequal power relations takes a socially and historically specific form and is in principle changeable. However under the influence of ideology, individuals will often come to regard existing

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6 The classical Marxist concept of ideology focusses only on its role with respect to unequal class relations. Leonard broadens its focus to include a broader range of social power relations, referring to relations of race and gender in addition to those of class.

7 Althusser (1971) refers to such institutions as the "ideological state apparatuses", which promote ideologies that serve the interests of the dominant social classes.

power relations as immutable givens. Ideological beliefs qualify individuals for participation in the existing social order by inculcating a class, race and gender-appropriate sense of superordinacy or subordinacy. According to Therborn (1980) these beliefs perform this function by informing individuals that existing class, gender and ethnic relations are:

i) natural, justified by biological differences, and essential features of human nature;

ii) right, just and desirable; and

iii) impossible to change.

> "Ideologies, dominant or subordinate, interpellate or speak to the individual from his or her birth in the form of expectations concerning how to behave, think, feel and what objectives to pursue. These ideological definitions and expectations become part of the individual's world view, so as to produce a gendered class subject who is required to submit to the social order and prepare for labour within it." (Leonard, 1984, p. 115)

The effect of beliefs that current social relations are desirable, inevitable and unchangeable is the undermining of the possibility of resistance to these social relations. In other words, ideological beliefs serve to undermine the likelihood of social change in the interests of subordinate social groupings. Ideology ensures the preservation of power relations, where power is defined as "the reproduction of social relations between people in such a way that resistance is suppressed" (Parker, 1989, p. 4).

Thus the consciousness that people have of their existence (where, according to Therborn (1980), historically constructed social relations are seen as natural, desirable and unchangeable) does not always reflect their objective social conditions. Often individuals voluntarily subscribe to beliefs and behaviours that serve to perpetuate their subordinate social position. This state is sometimes referred to as 'false consciousness'. However, and this is a crucial aspect of Leonard's theory of ideology, despite the power of dominant groupings to promote ideological beliefs that conserve the existing social order, the dominant group is not always successful. Leonard warns against falling into the trap of an over-socialised view of human beings commenting that a materialist psychology must look not only at how individuals are 'moulded' by social structure, but also how they resist and subvert that structure in daily life. There is never a perfect fit between the individual and the social order. We need concepts that reflect the dialectic between individual and society, and the resistance which the social order encounters in individuals.

The possibilities and constraints on behaviour, thought and feeling presented to the individual through the process of socialisation often contain contradictions.

> "Although ... human beings are produced by the social relations characteristic of a specific social formation, because these social relations contain contradictions there is never a perfect fit between the individual and the social order. Contradictions within and between the economy, the family and the state, connected to the highly variable experiences of specific individuals, provide space for avoidance, resistance and dissent (to the existing social order)." (Leonard, 1984, p. 116)

One of the primary goals of the present project will be to examine the role played by social identity in the reproduction or transformation of unequal power relationships.

Obstacle 4

This point brings us to the concept of social change. Earlier in this section we saw how Tajfel made some suggestive comments about the relationship between economic factors and identity, which were never followed up. He made similarly allusive comments about the concept of social change and often referred to the importance of taking account of social change in a theory of social identity. These comments are also never developed in any systematic way by social identity theorists however.

Before proceeding with this discussion a point of clarification must be made. Tajfel's use of the term "social change" is confusing, oscillating between what is referred to here as his narrow and his broad use of the term. The focus of this discussion is change in the broad sense as distinguised below.

When he uses the term "social change" in the narrow sense, Tajfel refers to the subjective belief structure that group boundaries are rigid, fixed and impermeable, and cannot be crossed. In this sense the belief structure of social change is contrasted with that of social mobility, the latter term referring to the belief that the boundaries between groups are permeable (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). This narrow sense of the word is not the interest of the current discussion.

However Tajfel sometimes uses the term social change in a broad sense to refer to the process of social transformation over historical time. In this broad sense he refers to the fact that social relations are in a constant state of flux across historical time. Against this background he calls for a **'dynamic'** thory of social identity which views the psychological process of identity construction as a dynamic process embedded within the context of changing social relationships. It is this second broad sense of the term social change that will be used throughout this thesis.

According to Tajfel, group memberships should be regarded as "processes" and not "things", and should be located within the flux of changing social relations.

> " ... the psychological existence of a group for its members is a complex sequence of appearances and disappearances, of looming large and vanishing into thin air; ..." (Tajfel, 1982, p. 485).

Turner (1988) echoes Tajfel's emphasis on the dynamic nature of identity.

> "The model proposed (by SCT) is by no means static, fixed, global, reified. The opposite is the case: a fundamental idea is the rejection of self-categories as 'absolutes': the self is dynamic, relational, comparative, fluid, context-specific and variable. Self-categorisations are part of the process of relating to the social world, not things." (p. 144)

However, despite social identity theory's frequent insistence that the social identity of a group could not be understood independently of the group's dynamic social location, these insights have not been formally integrated into the theory or methods of social identity theory (Baker 1989, Condor 1989, Skevington and Baker 1989).

> "... although Tajfel certainly acknowledges the occurrence of social change over macro-time, his 'dynamic' approach in fact focusses on social cognitive plasticity in micro-time ... it is not concerned with ideological transformations, let alone changes in social structure ... there is nothing in SI theory which would help us to (understand) ... power relations or the process of social transformation." (Condor, 1989, p. 30)

Both Leonard (1984) and Bhaskar's (1979) work point towards the possibility of developing a more dynamic account of social identity. In this thesis, the term 'dynamic' is used to refer to a social identity theory which attempts to locate the process of identity construction within changing social circumstances, and takes account of the relationship between identity and what Condor refers to as "the process of social transformation".

Baker (1989) sketches the requirements for such a dynamic account of identity:

> "If, as Tajfel maintained, social cognition is the product of a dynamic relationship between individual and society, then social identity should be understood by looking at the way in which it is formed (and transformed) within the social context."

Leonard and Bhaskar provide a framework which serves as a useful starting point for an investigation of the way in which the process of identity construction is inextricably located within a changing social structure.

Leonard says that there is never a perfect fit between individual and society. Individuals are born into pre-existing societies which present them with a range of potential group memberships and associated behavioural options through the process of socialisation. These group memberships and options provide the raw materials on which they can draw in the task of solving life's day-to-day demands and challenges. To the extent that existing group memberships and recipes are considered adaptive for life demands individuals will adopt them, and simply "reproduce" the social order in Bhaskar's terms.

However a changing social world may sometimes present individuals with adaptative challenges that cannot be met with those recipes for living associated with existing group memberships. In this case individuals may refashion existing group memberships and recipes or even invent new group memberships and recipes. In such cases, individuals are involved in the process of "transformation" of the social order in Bhaskar's terms.

Against this theoretical background, the thesis takes up the challenge to social identity theorists posed by Tajfel and Turner's failure to provide a 'dynamic' account of identity, one that takes account of the way in which group memberships are formed and transformed within a changing social context. It attempts to meet this challenge by examining the processes whereby individuals weigh up whether existing groups and recipes for living are appropriate for the concrete demands of everyday life, and in the light of this decision either (a) simply accept existing group memberships and in so doing contribute to the "reproduction" of the social order; or (b) reject or reshape existing groups memberships and recipes, or even where necessary create new ones, and in so doing contribute to the "transformation" of the existing social order.

In Bhaskar's terminology, one of the goals of this project will be to look at the role of identity in the reproduction or transformation of the social order, in other words, to look at the way in which social identity formation is implicated in the process of changing social relations. (Chapter 7 will illustrate this through focusing on a particular group membership, namely that of the FAMILY, examining the way in which youth refashion FAMILY recipes for living in response to changing social demands. Chapter 8 will focus more broadly on the role of identity in the reproduction or transformation of power relations of gender by township youth.)

Condor has suggested that an adequately historical investigation of identity should take the form of a comparison between identities at "time 1" and "time 2" (Condor, 1989,

p. 30). It is argued here that a comparison of social identities at two discrete and chronological moments in time is not a useful way of investigating the underlying social-psychological mechanisms involved in the process of identity construction in a changing society. At the most, a study of the kind suggested by Condor would reveal whether or not changes had occurred in the content of identity from one historical moment to the next (i.e. the effects of social change). It would not throw any light on the social-psychological processes underlying this change.

This study suggests that a detailed study of individuals' accounts of their social identity at one moment in time might be a useful way of capturing individuals in the process of weighing up competing recipes for living provided by the range of existing group memberships, and deciding whether to accept existing group memberships and their associated recipes for living; or whether to reject existing recipes and groups in favour of refashioning them or inventing new ones, contributing to the transformation of existing social forms.

Social representations or ideology?

Having outlined the four obstacles that stand in the way of the development of a 'truly social' social identity theory, a brief comment about the concept of social representations is offered. It has been suggested (e.g. Foster, 1991) that the notion of ideology is in some ways similar to the social psychologist Moscovici's notion of social representations, "the contemporary versions of common sense" (Moscovici, 1981). Some might argue that it would be more useful to use this concept which has received much more attention in the social psychological literature of the 70's and 80's than the notion of ideology. What are social representations? While Moscovici is deliberately vague about the precise nature of representations (preferring to regard the concept as a useful heuristic device for social psychologists that will gradually become clearer as more research is done in this area) he gives the following broad definition of the term:

> "Social representations ... concern the stock of ideas that gives coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas and the connections we create as spontaneously as we breathe. They make it possible for us to classify persons and objects, to compare and explain behaviours, and to objectify them as parts of our social setting. While representations are often to be located in the minds of men and women, they can just as often be found 'in the world', and as such examined separately. Representations can be preserved on parchment or stone in some forgotten place without having left a trace as such in anyone's mind for thousands of years." (1988, p. 214)

For the purposes of the current report Leonard's notion of ideology is preferred to Moscovici's social representations. The main reason for this choice is that Leonard

explicitly links ideology to concrete material social relations (in particular the power relations of race, class and gender) which Moscovici's concept does not. Leonard's theory is thus a useful starting point for the task of examining the relationship between ideas in the minds of individuals and power relations between real life social groups, and for beginning to examine the interconnection between social categorisations and changing social relations. Moscovici's social representations remain in the realm of ideas, with no account of the mechanisms whereby these ideas interact with the concrete material world. In other words his work fails to bridge "the chasm between 'the social' and 'the individual'" (Parker, 1989, p107). Moscovici does not explicitly develop the notion of the way in which the "stock of ideas" constituting social relations serves to legitimate and sustain a particular set of material power relations, which is one of the goals of the present project.

The second reason for preferring Leonard's notion of ideology to Moscovici's social representations is that the notion of ideology is widely used by social scientists in a range of other disciplines (e.g. history, political science, social anthropology, sociology and economics). The term is associated with a long tradition of work in critical social theory. One of the goals of this work is the development of an understanding of those processes by which unequal social relationships are reproduced or transformed in an ever-changing social world. This concept of ideology provides the possibility for a bridge between social psychology and these other disciplines. The notion of social representations on the other hand has been developed within the rather narrow field of social psychology, and is not a familiar conceptual tool in other disciplines in the social sciences. Leonard develops the notion of ideology, in the spirit of the work of Karl Marx. His work is part of an on-going tradition in the critical social sciences to develop a social theory that has a commitment to social change, more particularly to the improvement of social conditions of subordinate social groupings.

Against this background the task for social identity theory becomes part of the broader project outlined by Leonard (1984): to investigate the nature of human consciousness, "how it is constructed within specific historical conditions, how it is manipulated in the interests of particular class, gender and ethnic groups, and how such manipulation might be more effectively resisted" (p. 1). This task is undertaken against the background of "a detailed attention to the dialectic between the individual and the social order, whereby the former is socially constructed, but within a context of struggle and resistance" (p. 5). As has already been stated, a particular area of interest in the present project is that of gender identity. What role does social identity play in the reproduction or transformation of unequal social relations between men and women?

Social identity theory has tended to deal with gender relations by regarding "women" as one of the range of group memberships or self-categorisations that make up the individual's self-concept. The landmark study which is frequently cited as social identity theory's investigation of gender relations is that of Williams and Giles (1978). This study has been widely criticised for reasons beyond the concerns of this study (e.g. Skevington and Baker, 1989). More relevant to the current research, this thesis adds a new criticism to the list, arguing that Williams and Giles (1978) trivialise the nature of patriarchal social relations by suggesting that power relations of gender can be analysed by regarding gender as one of a range of group memberships. They imply that womens' gender consists of their subjective identification with the group membership of "women", and then proceed to analyse various strategies women have used to attain positive group distinctiveness.

One of the aims of this thesis will be to suggest that gender cannot reduced to group memberships of "women" or "men" which exist at the same level as other group memberships such as "peer group" or "church" for example. On the contrary this thesis will attempt to show that gender is more usefully conceived of as a set of ideological power relationships underlying all group memberships in a patriarchal social order, in such a way that group memberships present men and women with a systematically different set of behavioural possibilities and constraints (see Chapters 8 and 9).

This is not to deny that the existence of the subjective group memberships of "men" and "women". Obviously men and women are subjectively aware of being men and women, and refer to these group memberships in giving an account of their identities. Section 5.2.1 will distinguish between the subjective group membership of GENDER as one of the 11 main group memberships cited by informants and always referred to in capital letters (along with other group memberships such as CHURCH, COMRADES and FAMILY). This capitalised use of the term is opposed to the researcher's analytical category of gender, used in the lower case, which refers to the way in which patriarchal power relations penetrate almost every aspect of human social identity in ways that we are not always subjectively aware of. In Chapters 8 and 9, it will be argued that in this latter respect gender is one of the fundamental organising principles of all aspects of social identity in a patriarchal society.

What is meant by the use of the term patriarchy? The feminist literature uses the concept of patriarchy to conceptualise unequal gender relations. A simple definition of patriarchy is provided by Walby (1990), who describes patriarchy as "a system of

social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (p. 20). Hartmann's slightly more complex definition emphasises the persistence of men's domination of each other in addition to their domination of women, defining patriarchy as "a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men, and solidarity among them, which enable them to control women" (1979, p. 232). Definitions of patriarchy abound, but Ramazanoglu points out that most definitions have a common denominator:

> "However patriarchy is defined, it is a concept used to attempt to grasp the mechanisms by which men in general manage to dominate women in general. It refers to ideas and practices ranging from the most intimate of sexual encounters to the most general economic and ideological factors" (1989, p. 34).

In this report the term patriarchy is used to refer to that system of social relationships where men tend to dominate women in interpersonal relationships, and where men tend to have privileged access to social and political power and economic wealth. Against the background of this account of patriarchy, one of the purposes of this thesis will be to look at the way in which social identity serves to reproduce or transform patriarchal ideologies. In what way are group memberships associated with different behavioural possibilities for men and women? In what way do the "recipes for living" associated with the range of group memberships available to township youth serve to preserve the social power of men over women, and in other words to reproduce a patriarchal social order? What possibilities exist for youth to challenge unequal patriarchal relationships in such a way as to transform them?

Group memberships or self-categorisations are regarded as the products of social activity in specific historical contexts. The process of group identification is regarded an essentially social process, embedded within a particular ideological and social context. The goal of this thesis is to examine social identity within its social context, with particular emphasis on the power relations that occur within that context. This thesis has chosen to focus on gender relations in its examination of the relationship of social identity to power. The examination of power relations of race and class would form the basis of an interesting future study.

This particular study will concentrate on the operation of gender relations within one particular race and class group (namely working class, black township people). Given the constant nature of the class and race position of the present sample, this report will not dwell at any length on the intricacy of the interrelationship between power relations of race, class and gender, and on the different ways in which gender relations will operate from one race and class group to another. A wide range of feminist authors

(e.g. Anderson and Collins 1992, Cowley and Himmelweit 1992) emphasise that power relations of race, class and gender intersect in different ways from one social grouping to another. Thus for example gender relations in South Africa will manifest in fundamentally different ways from one race-class intersection to another.

> "... race, class and gender are inextricably intertwined ... we want readers to understand how race and class structure gender relations, and how gender and race structure class relations ... race, class and gender are intersecting systems, experienced simultaneously, not separately ..." (Anderson and Collins, 1992, pp. 48-9).

While an examination of the race-class-gender interaction is beyond the scope of the current work, Section 9.2 will emphasise that this issue is a crucial area for future research by social identity theorists.

2.5 Concluding comments

The remainder of this project aims to develop social identity theory in a way that takes account of the above four-pronged critique of the Bristol tradition. In the interests of exploring the possibility of extending social identity theory in a way that begins to address these problems, the challenges facing this thesis are (a) to move out of the laboratory and to focus on real-life groups in the real world, and (b) to provide an account of the process and structure of social identity formation that is sensitive to the individual-society interaction, the phenomenon of social change and the structuring of society around a hierarchy of unequal power relations.

In meeting these challenges, the project aims to build on foundations provided by social identity theory, extending the theory in a way that meets the four challenges outlined above. The following aspects of the theory are taken as building blocks:

1. Tajfel's original definition of social identity as: "the individual's knowledge that he (sic) belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of group membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p. 31).

2. Social identity theory's account of the process of social identity formation in terms of the cognitive processes of self-categorisation and social comparison.

3. Social identity theory's account of the structure of the self-concept in terms of a loose association of group memberships. The project explicitly rejects SIT's

account of the structure of the self-concept in terms of a distinction between personal and social identity, preferring Turner's conceptualisation of the self as a cognitive structure that functions at varying levels of abstraction.

4. Social identity theory's account of the situation-specific nature of social identity, and more particularly its notion of the salience of identity i.e. that specific group memberships become 'switched on' or salient in particular situations.

5. SCT's account of "referent informational influence" which points to the link between group memberships and behavioural possibilities.

6. Social identity theory's claim that there is a motivational drive for self-categorisation.

Chapter 3 begins to outline the way in which these six insights from social identity theory will be built on in the interests of meeting the challenges posed by the critique of social identity theory outlined above. These six points provide the basic building blocks for the three-pronged extension of social identity theory to be developed in this thesis.

This project attempts to locate the process of identity formation within a changing social order through its focus on the relationship between identity construction and the concrete demands of the material environment, a point that will be developed in the next chapter. In South Africa this material environment is changing so rapidly that existing group memberships and their associated behavioural options are sometimes inappropriate for dealing with the life's day-to-day demands and challenges. This project examines youth in the process of refashioning and reinventing group memberships and behavioural options, and not just simply adopting existing ones (as SCT would often seem to imply). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the current research locates itself within the tradition of researchers, dating back to Marx, who are committed to the development of a critical social theory capable of understanding the operation of unequal power relationships in the real world, and the possibilities of challenging them. In the spirit of Tajfel's original intentions (frequently expressed, but less often operationalised in concrete research programmes) it attempts to understand and examine the process of social identity formation within a changing society, characterised by unequal power relations between groups.

3 METHODOLOGY: OPERATIONALISING SOCIAL IDENTITY

This project aims to investigate the social identity of a sample of South African township youth (young men and young women) in an attempt to develop an account of social identity that is sensitive to social context. In Chapter 2 the following four features of social identity theory are criticised.

1. A methodological over-reliance on artificially constituted groups and experimental laboratory traditions,
2. the reduction of 'society' to 'the group', and the failure to locate group memberships against the background of social power relations,
3. a failure to take account of the interaction of cognitive and social factors in the process of identity formation, and
4. a failure to theorise the 'dynamic' nature of identity, locating the process of identity formation within a changing society.

The aim of the current project is to extend social identity theory in an attempt to address the four shortcomings outlined above. How did the project go about extending *social identity* theory in the interests of overcoming these four limitations? The methodological requirement was met by moving out of the laboratory, in order to investigate real life social groupings rather than artificially created ones. The implementation of this requirement was relatively straightforward and details of the research procedure are given in Chapter 4. This chapter gives an account of the way in which the author planned the research in the light of meeting the three conceptual criticisms outlined in points 2, 3 and 4 above.

3.1 Theoretical starting points in planning the research

Section 2.5 outlines six points from mainstream social identity theory which were taken as the starting points of the current research. Building on these starting points with the aim of extending the theory, the research interviews were planned against a backdrop of three key ideas.

1. In its attempt to move beyond the decontextualised accounts of the process of identity formation, and the structure of social identity (see Chapter 2, pxx for definitions of these terms) that have occupied social identity theorists in the Tajfel-Turner tradition, the study aimed to focus on a third aspect of social identity, namely its content. Such a focus would hopefully point the researcher in the direction of the individual-society interface as originally outlined by Tajfel. It would provide the possibility of highlighting the interaction between (a) individual cognitive processes and structures, and (b) features of the socially and historically specific material world. A focus on the content of identity as a starting point might enable the researcher to extend social identity theory's insights into the structure and process of social identity in a way that was more sensitive to the social context of identity formation than psychologists in the Tajfel-Turner tradition had been.

2. As a starting point for an empirical investigation into the content of social identity, the concept was operationalised by linking group membership to action. The hypothesis was made that membership of particular social groupings (such as the peer group, the church and the family) would be associated with particular constraints and possibilities on behaviour or 'recipes for living'. Individuals are faced with a range of possible behaviours in their day-to-day lives. The choices they make from this range would be influenced by their group memberships. It was further hypothesised that different self-categorisations would become salient in response to particular features of specific situations as the individual moved from one situation to another.

3. The assumption of many studies in the mainstream social identity tradition of a static society, which presents its members with a range of stable group memberships with which to construct their identity, could not be made with reference to social conditions in South Africa. One of the features of a society in unusually rapid transition is the fact that the 'recipes for living' associated with the old order are not likely to be appropriate for dealing with the challenges of the emerging one, and that individuals will be faced with the task of reconstructing or refashioning existing recipes. One of the goals of the current research is to investigate the effects of social change on group memberships and their associated recipes for living.

Against this background an open-ended, semi-structured interview schedule was constructed (see Section 4.3 for details of questionnaire) in the interests of answering the following questions:

1. what are the social groupings or self-categorisations available to township youth?
2. what are the criteria that define inclusion or exclusion in these categories?
3. what are the category-congruent constraints and possibilities on the behaviour of category members?
4. what factors influence the individuals' choices or adoptions of particular group memberships?

3.2 Theoretical background to method of data analysis

Detailed interviews were conducted with 40 young people (20 men and 20 women) (see Section 4.2). The starting point of the analysis was to investigate the relationship between the individual's behaviour and his or her membership of particular social groupings, such as the family, the peer group and the church. The initial assumption of the project was that individuals are faced with a range of possible behaviours in their day-to-day lives. The choices the individual makes from this range will be influenced by his or her group memberships. Against this background the first step in data analysis was to investigate the choices of behaviour available to subjects, and to begin to cluster ranges of choices around particular group memberships. The data were scanned for evidence of what were referred to as the behavioural options[8] (or recipes for living) facing the informants, and the group memberships associated with these options.

However the analysis sought to go further than this. Not only did it seek to explore the link between behaviour and group membership. It also had to explore this relationship against the background of particular social conditions (viz: rapidly changing township society). Thus the analysis sought to link behavioural choices to specific life situations faced by the subjects. It did this by taking as its starting point social identity theory's claim that social identity is situation-specific. The self consists of a range of self-categorisations, each one associated with prescriptions for action, and each self-categorisation salient ('switched on') in a specific range of situations. Behaviour cannot be understood independently of its context.

Detailed examination of the data in the light of this starting point suggested that this idea could usefully be developed by regarding these behavioural choices as responses to challenges or problems posed by the individual's social and material life world. The

8 The terms 'behavioural options' and 'recipes for living' refer to possibilities and constraints on the behaviour, thoughts and feelings of the informants. Thus the way in which the term 'behaviour' is used in this thesis includes the cognitive, affective and action dimensions of human experience.

notion was developed of social identity as an adaptative resource. Social identity construction was regarded as the process whereby the individual responded to the day-to-day problems of his or her life circumstances. Identity was regarded as a resource for dealing with social situations, an adaptative mechanism for tackling the social and material conditions of daily existence. Against this background a coding frame was developed that sought to associate behavioural choices and group memberships with a series of adaptative challenges facing township youth (see Chapter 5). These adaptative challenges consisted of the demands made by the material and social world on the youth.

It was hypothesised that a conceptualisation of individuals' social identity as a response to social demands would open up the possibility for exploring the articulation of individual and society in the process of identity formation. It would provide access to the way in which individuals had to reshape or reinterpret group memberships according to changing social demands, when old recipes for living might be deemed inappropriate for dealing with the new range of problems that were constantly being 'thrown up' by the rapidly changing social order.

Once the coding frame had been developed, the data were analysed with the view to answering the following questions:

1. What are the most influential group memberships in the social identity of township youth?
2. What are the adaptative challenges facing the subjects in their day to day lives?
3. What are the most common behavioural options associated with each adaptative challenge?
4. What gender differences exist in the social identity of township youth (in terms of differences in the behavioural options associated with each challenge by males and females, the respective influence of different group memberships on males and females, and the amount of attention devoted by males and females to each challenge)?.

The latter point was particularly important in the light of the project's interest in investigating the role played by social identity theory in the reproduction or transformation of patriarchal power relations. On the basis of the interview data, it will be argued that gendered differences in group memberships and behavioural options often tend to ensure the preservation of unequal power relations between men and women (although there will also be some evidence for women refashioning restrictive group memberships and behavioural options in a more empowering way).

The remainder of this thesis builds on the extended model of social identity outlined in a rudimentary form in this chapter. In chapter 5 the coding frame developed to interrogate the data in the light of these four questions is outlined. This coding frame forms the basis of the account of the structuring of social identity put forward in this report.

The structuring of social identity is characterised in terms of a trialogue between adaptative challenges, group memberships and behavioural options. The term 'trialogue' emphasises the constant interaction between each of these three phenomena in the on-going process of social identity construction. In chapter 6 the results of the interview analysis are presented in the light of this model of identity structuring. This trialogue model of identity structuring forms the first extension of this project's three-pronged development of social identity theory. Chapter 7 outlines and illustrates the second extension, the project's account of the Debating Process of Identity Construction. Chapter 8 gives an account of the project's final extension of the theory, namely its attention to the gendered nature of the process of identity construction.

3.3 Concluding comments

In summary, the theoretical aim of this operationalisation of social identity was to tackle three conceptual problems that had been identified in the mainstream social identity tradition, and to extend mainstream theory in a way that begins to deal with these problems. The research methodology outlined above, and the expanded theory of social identity would incorporate attention to:

i) the individual-society interaction;
ii) the location of the process of social identity formation within a changing social context; and
iii) the location of group memberships against the background of a hierarchical set of social power relations, in particular relations of gender.

How does this operationalisation tackle each of these problems?

Firstly how has the individual-society interaction been operationalised? In this project, the social and material world is implicated in the process of identity formation in two ways:

(a) this world presents individuals with an on-going series of challenges, problems or demands that they must meet in the course of their day-to-day lives and survival;

(b) it presents individuals with a range of group memberships and behavioural options out of which to construct their identities (a repertoire of possible identities); these groups and options form the raw materials which individuals will either adopt, refashion or reinvent in the task of meeting these demands.

Thus in the on-going process of identity construction the individual is in constant interaction with the social world, whose demands are a major determinant of (i) the form which identity will take, and (ii) the raw materials available to the individual for constructing identity in response to the social world's demands.

One could express this by saying that there was a constant interaction between the content of an individual's social identity and demands placed on the individual by the social and material worlds. Here it must be very strongly emphasised however that the individual is not to be viewed as a mere passive 'adapter' or 'responder' to environmental demands in terms of environmentally given group memberships and behavioural options. The present conceptualisation of identity is committed to an active notion of the individual, constantly redefining group memberships, and reshaping old behavioural options or inventing new ones. The current research will give attention not only to the way in which the individual "reproduces" the group memberships and behavioural options, but also to the way in which the individual "transforms" them (Bhaskar, 1979). As Leonard (1984, p. 116) says, there is never a "perfect fit" between the individual and society. The socially available group memberships and behavioural options that the individual takes on board will never be entirely appropriate for changing environmental demands. There will be some some space for individual creativity in the process of identity formation through the refashioning of old memberships and behaviours, or even the invention of new ones. (Furthermore the way in which individuals respond to environmental demands, and adopt or refashion existing behavioural options will also be influenced by factors such as the individual's idiosyncratic life history, their unique genetic and constitutional endowments and so on. These factors are beyond the scope of the present study.)

Secondly how does the current operationalisation provide the possibility of a dynamic theory of identity (viz. one which examines the construction and reconstruction of identity within changing social conditions)? One of the most striking features of township society in South Africa in the late 80's/early 90's is the rapidity of social change, in terms of changing race relations, age relations, gender relations, educational levels, the speed of urbanisation and so on. The dynamic nature of identity will be

accounted for in two ways in this project. Firstly an account will be given of the way in which youth reject and refashion many of the existing group memberships and recipes for living within the context of changing social demands (Chapter 7 will illustrate this process, using the group membership of the FAMILY as a case study). Secondly an account will be given of the role played by social identity in the challenging and transformation of social power relations, in particular patriarchal gender relations (Chapter 8 will illustrate this process).

Thirdly how has the current project taken up the challenge of locating group memberships against the background of social power relations? One of the key shortcomings of social identity theory that was outlined in Chapter 2 was its failure to locate the process of identity construction within the context of societies structured around hierarchical power relations of race, class and gender.

The set of power relations that are the focus of this thesis are power relations of gender. Chapter 2 has already laid emphasis on the close interaction of power *relationships of race, class and gender, stressing* that gender relationships are at all times mediated through the filters of race and class. One of the central tasks of this thesis is to investigate the operation of gendered power relations within one specific race and class group, namely working class black people in South Africa. One of the central tasks of the thesis will be to highlight the way in which patriarchal social relations permeate the process of social identity formation amongst working class black youth. In chapter 6 attention will be paid to the gendered differences in behavioural possibilities associated with each challenge. It will be suggested that group memberships present men and women with a systematically different range of behavioural possibilities and contraints. In chapter 8 gendered differences in the interpretation of particular group memberships and their associated behavioural options will be located against the backdrop of a hierarchical set of gendered power relations. Chapter 8 will examine the way in which individuals' interpretations of group-congruent behavioural options serve either to reproduce existing power relations (characterised by the domination of women by men, as well as the privileged access that men have to economic wealth and political power), or to transform these relations in a way that gives women growing access to social power.

This chapter has begun to bridge the gap between the project's theoretical concerns and its empirical procedure. An account of this bridging process will be futher developed in Chapter 4 (The Interviews) and Chapter 5 (Analysis of Interviews) which will give a more detailed account of the technique of data analysis developed in this study.

4 THE INTERVIEWS

The empirical data for this project consisted of semi-structured, open-ended interviews with 40 township youth, 20 young women and 20 young men. This chapter provides an account of the research informants and the interview procedure. It is divided into six sections. In Section 4.1 reference is made to the pilot study that gave rise to the current research. In Section 4.2 the social context of township life at the time of the interviews is discussed, and the reader is referred to a lengthy appendix in this regard. This section is followed by an account of the research informants (4.3), the choice of interview venue (4.4), the interview schedule and procedure (4.5), and informants' feedback regarding the interview process (4.6). In Section 4.7 limitations of the interview process are discussed.

4.1 Pilot study

The idea for the present project grew out of a pilot study conducted by the author while working on the Natal Family Project in 1988. The Natal Family Project was conducted under the auspices of two political/service groupings. The first of these was the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (Oasssa), a progressive mental health organisation affiliated to the Mass Democratic Movement, and particularly active in the mid and late 1980's. The second of these groupings was the Emergency Services Group (ESG), a group of anti-apartheid psychologists, doctors and other health workers, formed to provide physical, mental and social health care to survivors of various forms of state violence. One of the major thrusts of the service delivery work of Oasssa and ESG was the provision of counselling assistance for survivors of police detention and torture in Natal and their families.

The particular circumstances of the work prompted an attempt to move away from individualistic, Euro-centric counselling models, in favour of frameworks that located individual and family suffering in the context of social injustices (Anonymous, 1986, Turton 1986, Vogelman 1987). In the interests of informing this work, the Natal Family Project was set up to generate information on the effects of apartheid and capitalism on African family life. A pilot study was conducted, involving in-depth interviews with 22 members of five township families (Campbell, 1989).

One of the key issues highlighted by this pilot study was an apparent contradiction in the role of women in the family. In certain respects it appeared that women played a pivotal role in ensuring the cohesion of both family and community life. On the other hand, while the family provided an important arena for the exercise of power by women, patriarchal family ideologies appeared to undermine women in their fight to hold the family and the community together (Campbell, 1990). This prompted an interest in the role played by the family and other group memberships in the reproduction or transformation of patriarchal social relations in working class township communities. This interest was further encouraged by the growing sense of urgency in South Africa around the problem of drawing women into the political arena in a more significant way and general agreement amongst activists in both community, political and worker organisations that this was not an easy task.[9] What were the factors that would serve to encourage or inhibit the involvement of women in political organisations and community leadership? The present investigation into the social identity of township youth was launched against the background of an interest in gender identity, and the role played by the family and other group memberships in sustaining or challenging patriarchal social relations.

4.2 Social context of township life

The interviews were conducted in 1989 and early 1990, in the 12 months immediately preceding the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison. This was a turbulent period in South Africa's history, marked by the white apartheid government's last bids to curb anti-apartheid resistance through measures such as the State of Emergency that gave police and army powers to kill, imprison, torture and harrass enemies of the state and their families. Informants came from Umlazi township, near Durban (a town in the province of Natal on the east coast of South Africa). Umlazi township is part of the KwaZulu homeland, administered by the KwaZulu government led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Chief Buthelezi is also the head of the political organisation Inkatha, a Zulu nationalist organisation claiming to represent the Zulu people. While Inkatha has a relatively large following amongst rural people, its support in the urban areas is relatively small (a Gallup Markinor survey conducted in 1990 reported that 1 percent of urban black people supported Buthelezi, as opposed to 64 percent who supported the ANC, see Appendix A.1). At the time of the interviews, apart from high levels of state harrassment of its political opponents, the

9 These debates have been recorded in the South African journals of *Agenda* and *Work in Progress* from the mid-1980's until the present.

Natal townships were also embroiled in the beginnings of what would develop into a full-scale bloody civil war between supporters of Inkatha, and those loyal to the Mass Democratic Movement/African National Congress (MDM/ANC)[10]. While informally everyone 'knew' that there was an alliance between Inkatha and the apartheid state (which had an interest in supporting any movement that would undermine the MDM/ANC), this was always vociferously denied by both parties. Concrete proof of white National party support for Inkatha was only to emerge in 1991.

This research project characterises the historical period during which the research was conducted as a period of rapid social change. Appendix A.1 elaborates on this claim with its thumbnail sketch of the historical, political and economic context of township life in the 1989-90 period, during which the interviews were conducted. The appendix provides some facts and figures about Umlazi township against the background of a brief history of the South African township concept, and the role played by townships in the grand apartheid plan. It also looks at the demise of the grand apartheid plan, and the involvement of township people in this demise, with a particular focus on struggles in Natal, and a particular focus on the role of youth in these struggles. This appendix forms essential background reading for readers unfamiliar with recent South African history, given that the aim of the present project is to look at the relationship between this social context, and the social identity of township youth.

4.3 Informants

The study drew its informants from Umlazi township youth aged between 17 and 23 years. Throughout this thesis, the term 'youth' is used to refer to this age group. These are the years straddling late adolescence and early adulthood, and the age at which many young township people are reaching the end of their school careers, and are faced with decisions regarding their future as adults. They would still be living in the home of their family of origin.[11] However by this stage they would have had some opportunity for independent exploration of the world, which would have enabled them to 'test out' what their families had taught them. They would also have been exposed to a range of alternative social groupings offering competing recipes for living.

The final sample of interviewees consisted of 40 youth (20 men and 20 women). The recruitment of a sample in the Durban area was severely constrained by a number of

10 Until the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, supporters of the ANC had operated under the broad label of the MDM. The MDM referred to a loose alliance of organisation including the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

11 Due to the shortage of township housing and chronic overcrowding in existing housing it would be virtually impossible for a young person of this age group to 'set up home on their own'.

factors. The first of these was the political violence in Natal. During 1989 and 1990, about 3000 people were killed in the intense political conflict which rocked Natal's townships (see Appendix A.1). Under such conditions, researchers were faced with a range of limitations regarding both their access to subjects, and the data-gathering methods available to them (Zulu, 1988). In the face of such constraints researchers are not in the position to use conventional social science methods with regard to selection of the research sample, and must regard themselves as lucky to interview whoever they can and to get whatever information they can.

The 'recruiting' of informants took place through two channels. The first was through the follow-up of contacts from the pilot study of the Natal Family Project. Families that had taken part in the earlier research project were approached with a view to the interviewing of sons and daughters in the required age group. The second channel was through a contact with a township woman, who was well known in her particular section of the township in two respects: as a prominent trade union organiser, and as the proprietor of a home shabeen that was extremely popular in her locality. She agreed to introduce the researcher to youth in her area. The researcher's specifications were that the youth should be aged between 17 and 23 years old, and come from families where the parents were workers (such as domestic and factory workers) rather than professional people (such as teachers or nurses).

Table 4.1 gives a profile of the male and female subjects, focussing on their ages, occupations at the time of the interviews, educational levels, whether or not they had children, and the occupation and educational levels of their mothers and fathers. Certain aspects of this table may seem strange to an overseas reader. The first of these is that the fathers of 13 informants were dead. This does not mean that the family background of informants is unrepresentative of township youth. The life expectancy of a black man born between 1935 and 1947 is estimated to be less than 40 years.[12] The second aspect of the table which might seem strange is the advanced age of many of

12 Life expectancy statistics for black South African men are not available. With regard to so-called 'coloured' South Africans (people of mixed race) the life expectancy of a 'coloured' man born between 1935 and 1947 is between 40.18 and 41.70 years (Central Statistical Services, 1987). Given the fact that 'coloured' South Africans are far more privileged than blacks one would expect the figures for black men to be even lower than this.

Table 4.1 Details of informants (nd - no data available)

Females

Subject	Age	Occupation	Education level	Yrs. of school	Child	Mother: work (level of education)	Father: work (level of education)
1	18	Unemployed	Std 10(re-writing)	12	1	Cleaner (Std 6)	Dead - sales ass't (Std 6)
2	18	Scholar	Std 8 (current)	10	1	Unemployed (Std 9)	Dead - nd (nd)
3	17	Unemployed	Std 10(re-writing)	12	0	Housewife (Std 6)	Labourer (Std 5)
4	17	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Cleaner (Std 5)	Dead - labourer
5	17	Scholar	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Invalid - domestic (Std 5)	Taxi driver (Std 2)
6	18	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Unempl - labourer (Std 5)	Dead - home shabeen (nd)
7	19	Unemployed	Std 7 (drop-out)	9	1	Nurse (diploma)	Dead - nd (nd)
8	22	Home business	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	2	Pensioner - domestic (Std 2)	Pensioner - labourer (Std 3)
9	21	Unemployed	Std 8 (drop-out)	10	2	Home dressmaker (Std 6)	Dead - Labourer (Std 3)
10	19	Scholar	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Domestic worker (Std 6)	Pensioner - labourer (Std 4)
11	20	Scholar	Std 10 (current)	12	0	Pensioner - domestic (Std 1)	Dead - labourer (Std 3)
12	19	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Bank clerk (Std 10)	Bank clerk (Std 8)
13	23	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	1	Hawker (nd)	Pensioner - labourer (nd)
14	23	Unemployed	Std 10(re-writing)	12	0	Domestic (Std 2)	Dead - nd (nd)
15	17	Scholar	Std 10 (current)	12	0	Domestic (no school)	Little contact - nd (nd)
16	23	Unemployed	Std 10(re-writing)	12	0	Nurse (Std 7)	Home mechanic (Std 5)
17	19	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Domestic (Std 4)	No contact - nd (nd)
18	17	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Unemp - factory work (Std 6)	Clerk (nd)
19	18	Awaiting university	Std 10 (completed)	12	0	Domestic (Std 8)	Labourer (Std 8)
20	20	Unemployed	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	0	Dead - housewife (nd)	Pensioner - driver (Std 6)
Mean	19.3		Std 9	11.05			

Males

Subject	Age	Occupation	Education level	Yrs. of school	Child	Mother: work (level of education)	Father: work (level of education)
1	18	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Housewife (Std 4)	Labourer (Std 5)
2	19	Scholar	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Housewife (nd)	Taxi-driver (nd)
3	22	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Cleaner (Std 5)	Dead - Labourer (nd)
4	18	Scholar	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Home dressmaker (Std 6)	Dead - Labourer (Std 3)
5	17	Scholar	Std 5 (current)	7	0	Housewife (Std 10)	Tea-maker (Std 2)
6	22	Unemployed	Std 10(re-writing)	12	1	Dead (hawker)	Unknown - nd (nd)
7	23	Unemployed	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	2	Machinist (Std 6)	Little contact - nd (nd)
8	19	Home business	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	0	Home shabeen (Std9)	Little contact - nd (Std 6)
9	18	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Domestic (no schooling)	Dead - nd (nd)
10	20	Unemployed	No schooling	0	0	Pensioner - domestic (Std 7)	Pensioner - labourer (Std 1)
11	18	Scholar	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Domestic (Std 5)	Little contact - nd (nd)
12	23	Teach. training coll.	Diploma (current)	14	0	Housewife (Std 2)	Bus driver (Std 4)
13	21	Scholar	Std 9 (current)	11	1	Housewife (nd)	Labourer (nd)
14	17	Scholar	Std 7 (current)	9	0	Dead nd (nd)	Unknown - nd (nd)
15	21	Unemployed	Std 3 (drop-out)	5	0	Hawker (nd)	Pensioner - labourer (nd)
16	18	Unemployed	Std 6 (drop-out)	8	0	Dead - nd (nd)	Dead - nd (nd)
17	23	Unemployed	Std 8 (drop-out)	10	0	Housewife (Std 4)	Labourer (Std 5)
18	18	Unemployed	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	0	Invalid - hawker (nd)	Dead - labourer (nd)
19	23	Electrician	Diploma (current)	13	0	Domestic (Std 5)	Little contact - nd (nd)
20	19	Unemployed	Std 7 (drop-out)	9	0	Hawker (nd)	Pensioner- labourer (nd)
Mean	19.8		Std 8	9.7			

the scholars in the sample. This situation is also not unusual. Given the range of interruptions and obstacles that face black scholars, more than 60% of high school pupils are older than the 'normal' age range one would expect if scholars started school at the age of six years old, and passed every year thereafter (Appendix A.1).

In the first few interviews, a great effort was made to collect detailed demographic details of informants' families: how many people living in their house, how many siblings, educational levels and occupations of all the house's inhabitants and so on. This introductory demographic information often took up to 45 minutes or an hour to collect. Given that the length of the interviews sometimes stretched to more than eight hours, it soon became clear that there was no time to go into such detail, particularly in the case of those informants who were unable to provide detailed information of this nature. Every effort was made to put the subjects at their ease, and this included an attempt not to ask subjects questions they could not answer. Experience showed that difficult questions early on in the course of the interview often served to make informants feel flustered or uncomfortable.

Appendix A.1.3 refers to the problem of overcrowded housing in South African townships. Despite the fact that systematic details of each informant's household were not recorded, of those informants where this information was in fact recorded, the largest household was that of M9, and the smallest was that of F16. These households are described to give a sense of the range of living conditions of respondents. Both M9 and F16 lived in standard Umlazi four-roomed houses, roughly 25 or 30 square metres in area. M9's house accomodated 25 people. These were his 62-year-old mother, six unmarried sisters aged 26 to 36, the sisters' 13 children aged one to 17, two brothers aged 20 and 24, and M9 himself aged 18. The smallest household was that of F16 who shared a four-roomed house with four other people, her 59-year-old father, her 54-year-old mother, her 21 year old brother and seven-year-old son of her sister, who is married and lives in a rural area.

The average age of female respondents was 19.3 years, and of male respondents was 19.8 years. The average school standard reached was Std 9 for female respondents and Std 8 for male respondents. (South African schools run for 12 years, including two primary years, followed by Standards 1 to 10. In Std 10 pupils write their matriculation or school-leaving exam.) It must be noted here that the fact that informants had reached this standard did not always mean that they had completed ('passed') this year. Often pupils had been forced to drop out before the completion of the year for a number of reasons, including illness, political detention, financial problems and lack of

motivation. Furthermore many respondents said they had failed one or more years of schooling.

As will be outlined below, individual interviews often took place on two separate days. Altogether 42 people were interviewed. Two interviews had to be discarded because subjects (both young women) failed to turn up for the second instalment of the interview. In the first case, the researcher went to the informant's house to find out what had happened to her, and was told by her father that she was required at home to do housework, and that he did not like the idea of her 'gallivanting around at the university' when there were family responsibilities for her to meet. In the second case the informant was not pursued. A friend of hers, who was interviewed some weeks later, said that her friend had spoken positively about the interview, and that she had no idea why her friend had failed to turn up the second time.

4.4 Interview venues

Under the prevailing conditions of township violence, suspicion of outsiders was rife. The movement of white people in and out of townships is limited, and arouses great curiosity. Even with the best political and organisational introductions to individual families, repeated visits by a white researcher, seen to be interviewing family members and taking copious notes, would arouse curiosity or suspicion in the neighbourhood. This could place even the most welcoming families in an awkward position with unfriendly or suspicious neighbours.

For this reason the decision was made to conduct all the interviews in the researcher's office at the University of Natal, Durban, and not in the homes of informants (as had been the practice in the previous research project). Initially this decision was regretted. It was expected that people would not feel at ease in the alien environment of the university as they might have felt in the familiar surroundings of their own homes. However in retrospect this proved not to be the case. In the feedback session at the end of the interviews informants said that coming to the university had been a positive experience. A number of subjects said they would not have felt as free to speak honestly and openly about their lives within earshot of parents or siblings. For example, several young women said they would not have spoken freely about their boyfriends in their family setting. Respondents of both genders said they might have felt reluctant to speak of their political activities within the possible earshot of their parents. Some of the other reasons cited for preferring to be interviewed at the university rather than at home are dealt with in Section 4.6.

4.5 Interview schedule and procedure

Of the 40 informants, three men and six women chose to be interviewed in English, without an interpreter. The remaining 31 people preferred to be interviewed in Zulu, with a Zulu-speaking interpreter. Subjects were always interviewed with an interpreter of the same gender. (On the one occasion when a same-gender interpreter was not available, an attempt was made to interview a young woman with a male interpreter. After an hour or so however it became clear that the woman was so shy and constrained that it would be better to postpone the interview to another occasion when a woman interpreter would be available.) Ideally it might have been better to work consistently with one interpreter of each gender throughout the study. However this was not possible. About eight different interpreters assisted with the study at various stages. These included a nurse on maternity leave, a trade union organiser on sick leave, a university researcher and a number of university students.

Interviews ranged from four to eight hours in length, excluding breaks. It must be borne in mind that the process of simultaneous interpretation serves to slow down the interviewing process. Generally, given frequent stops for tea, meals and walks, informants were not interviewed for longer than five or six hours in one day, so several respondents came in to be interviewed on two separate days. The researcher recorded all the interviews in short hand, word for word as translated by the interpreters. Later the shorthand was read into a tape, and transcribed by a typist. In the accounts of the interviews that are given in this thesis, material is quoted verbatim with no attempt to change the grammar and style that results from a third person's shorthand account of a second person's interpretation of an interview with a first person. The problems associated with this rather convoluted way of proceeding are referred to in Section 4.7.

Each interview followed four stages. A copy of the interview schedule is included in Table A.2. The design of the interview situation was informed by Mishler's (1986) criticism of the way in which social science research often serves to make respondents feel insecure, objectified and alienated. Mishler's points were further reinforced by the researcher's own negative personal experience of being the subject of an open-ended, semi-structured interview by a social science researcher. In a country such as South Africa, it is hardly necessary to dwell on the layers of social inequality that mediate the contact between a middle class white university researcher and middle class well-educated black interpreter on the one hand, and a working class black scholar or unemployed person on the other. According to Mishler (1986) blatant inequalities of

social power have the potential to result in informants feeling disempowered, intimidated or constrained in a range of different ways. Against this background, every attempt was made to ensure that respondents felt at ease during the course of the interviews, and that the interview was an enjoyable experience for interviewees.

Stage 1 was devoted to a detailed discussion of the research project with the informant. Informants were encouraged to ask any questions that they might have about the work. Thereafter they were formally asked for consent to be interviewed. In all cases informants agreed to take part. The interviewers then proceeded to outline details of the interview process. At this stage the researchers thanked the subjects for agreeing to participate, and some time was spent negotiating the procedure. This involved discussion of what kind of questions the interviewee should expect, and an emphasis that none of the questions would be difficult to answer. (During Stage 1 of the interview process, several subjects expressed reservations that the questions might be too difficult for them.)

It was pointed out that during the course of the interviews the informant might choose not to answer particular questions, and that she or he should feel free to exercise their choice in this matter. Here it was emphasised that in agreeing to participate in the interview they were doing the researcher an invaluable service, and against this background should feel free to control the flow of information by informing researchers whenever they felt reluctant to discuss a particular topic. In practice, informants rarely took this option, the exceptions being two occasions where the discussion drifted in the direction of the participation of two (both male) informants in criminal activities. Interviewers did not probe what appeared to be sensitive issues raised in the interviews (in particular issues relating to details of involvement in political activities, given the climate of political repression at the time). Confidentiality and anonymity were also stressed at this stage. Subjects were informed that they would be referred to subsequently only by gender and number. Their number was determined by the order in which they were interviewed, females were referred to as F1, F2, F3 ... F20, and males as M1, M2, M3 ... M20. This was an important requirement, since the researcher's township contact was the friend or acquaintance of the parents of a large number of the subjects. Several subjects said they would have felt constrained had they felt that she would have access to the interview data. A few subjects' parents were personal acquaintances of the researchers, which could also have been a problem. However these informants had already been interviewed for a previous research project, and said they were aware that confidentiality would be maintained.

During Stages 2 and 3, each interviewee was asked every question on the questionnaire. In this sense the interview schedule was 'structured' in nature. However it was 'open-ended' in the sense that subjects were given as much time as they required to answer each question. Furthermore if in answering a question, the informants introduced another topic, this topic was pursued, no matter whether or not the interviewers judged it to be relevant to the particular question that had elicited it. The goal of the interview was to attain a happy medium between encouraging informants to speak of whatever aspects of their lives they wanted to discuss, in as much detail as they chose to volunteer, and to gather information on a series of predetermined topics. Mishler (1986) comments on the negative and disempowering effects of social scientists' practice of 'cutting off' informants' narratives at will. He criticises the common tendency to disregard matters that informants might want to talk about, simply because they don't fit into researchers' definition of their interest area. Every attempt was made to ensure that this did not occur.

Stage 2 of the interview consisted of a set of 'General Questions' designed to elicit general contextual information about the subjects' lives and social relationships, as well as the most significant group memberships informing their day-to-day activities. At the end of Stage 2, there was generally a break, during which the interpreter took the subject for tea and for a walk. Breaks were held at regular intervals, and people were encouraged to walk around as much as possible during breaks due to the length of the interviews. Long sittings tended to make respondents (and interpreters) tired. During this break the researcher would go through her notes, and compile a list of what appeared to be the subject's dominant group memberships.

At the beginning of Stage 3, subjects were shown the list and asked to add any influential group memberships that were missing. Then they were asked to rank the list of groups in the order from the one that they regarded as the most important in their lives, to the one they regarded as the least important. Here 'importance' was interpreted in relation to its value connotations. In other words the question was phrased as follows: "Please will you put these groups in the order ranging from those that are the most important and valuable to you (the ones that you like the most) to those that are the least important."

The decision to use the 'value' interpretation of importance (translated as 'which group do you like the most/least') was taken quite unconsciously and for no particular reason by the researcher at the early stages of the interview process (when her energies were focussed chiefly on tactical issues such as whether or not she would succeed in getting

herself, the informants and the interpreters to arrive at the same venue at the same time on the same day). In retrospect it might have been useful to distinguish for example between (a) the group that you like the most and (b) the group that you feel influences you the most. However by the time she became conscious of the particular way in which she was ranking the groups it was too late to change, and for the sake of consistency the original interpretation was maintained.

The resulting ordered list of significant group memberships guided Stage 3 of the interview guide. An example of such a list follows:

Female 1: Ranked list of informants' most influential group memberships.

1. Family
2. School
3. Church
4. Friends
5. Lovers[13]

These dominant group memberships and the order in which they were ranked by each subject are included in Table 4.2. The lists of seven of the 40 informants yielded only four group memberships. Nineteen subjects' lists consisted of five group memberships. In the case of 14 subjects the list yielded six or more group memberships. All group memberships in excess of the five most important were discarded. Then, starting with the group at the top of the list, the Stage 3 questions were asked for each of the five group memberships respectively. This meant that the questions in Stage 3 were repeated, in full, five times in the case of 33 informants, and four times in the case of the other seven.

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13 See Section 5.2.1 for definitions of these group memberships.

Table 4.2 Dominant group memberships and the order in which they were ranked

Females

Subject	Family	School	Church	Friends	Lovers	Comrades	Work	Other groups mentioned
1	1	2	3	4	5			
2	4	1		3	2			(only mentioned 4 groups)
3	1	2		3	4			(only mentioned 4 groups)
4	5	1		3				Acting group 2; Guides 4
5	1	2	5	6			Selling 3	Choir 4
6	1	2	3	5	4			
7	1		2	4	3			(only mentioned 4 groups)
8	2			4	3		Hairdresser 1	(only mentioned 4 groups)
9	1		4	5	3		Dressmaking 2	
10	2	1	3	4	5	6		
11	2	1	3	5	4			
12	2	1		5	4	3		Disco's 2
13	3	1	5	6	4			Ballroom dance group 2
14	2	1	4	6	3			Modelling 5
15	3	1	5	4	2			
16	2	1		4	3			Disco's 5
17	3	1	2	4		5		
18	1	2		3	5	4		
19	2	1		3	6	5		Yuppies 4
20	2	1		5	3	4		

Males

Subject	Family	School	Church	Friends	Lovers	Comrades	Work	Other groups mentioned
1	1	2	4	7	5	3		Sports gp 6; Gambling 8; Phants 9
2	1	2	3	6	4			Sports group 5; Gambling 7
3	2	1		6	5		Selling 4	Acting group 3;
4	5	3	1		2	4		
5	1	2	3	4	5			
6	1	4		2	5	3		
7	1			4	3		Labourer 2	(only mentioned 4 groups)
8	2	1		4	7	3	Shabeen work 5	Sports group 6
9	1	2		4		3		(only mentioned 4 groups)
10	1			5	4	2	Street hawker 3	Shabeens 6; Dudes 7
11	2	1	4	5	3			
12	1	2		4	5			Sports group 3
13	2	1			4	3		Comrades cultural group 5
14	2	1						Sports gp 3; Phantsulas 4 (only 4)
15	2			3			Workseeker 1	Phants 3; Sports 4; Shabeen 5
16	1			2	3	4		Phantsulas 5
17	1			3	2	4		Phants 5; Gambling 6; Shabeen 7
18	1			3	5	2		Workseeker 4; Shabeen 6
19	5	1		4	2			Sports group 3
20	1			3	7	5		Sports 2; Phants 4; Gamb 6; Shab 8

The questions in Stage 3 were devised in order to elicit:

i) criteria for inclusion or exclusion from each group

ii) group-consistent constraints and possibilities on the behaviour of group members

iii) factors influencing individuals' choices of particular group memberships.

The final stage of the interview, the feedback section, is discussed below.

4.6 Feedback from informants

The interview concluded with a feedback session (Stage 4), where subjects were asked to comment on their experience of the interview process. Three women (F2, F14 and F15) complained that the interview had been too long, and was "boring" because it focussed on routine questions about uninteresting and mundane aspects of their lives that did not require any challenge or ingenuity to answer. Three informants (F7, F17 and M3) were neutral, with comments such as "I did not mind being interviewed" or "being interviewed was OK I suppose". The remaining 33 informants said that the experience of being interviewed had been a positive one (including M2 who said that he had enjoyed the interview, but laughingly qualified this by saying he hadn't enjoyed being woken up at the crack of dawn to come to the interview).

Several subjects were enthusiastic in this regard:

> "I liked all the questions, and I answered them straight from my heart ... it has been nice meeting you both and coming here, and I would like to thank Mrs X for introducing me to you, and I wish you all the best in your study." (M4)

> "It was my greatest delight to come here and be interviewed. You have shown me great respect, and the questions you have asked me have built me up a lot." (M17)

> "I was happy to be interviewed, particularly since school is closed at present, and it gave me a chance to exercise my mind by answering these questions." (F6)

Others commented that they had arrived feeling nervous in anticipation of what contribution they might have to make to this institute of higher learning. They reported that they had left feeling confident of their ability to talk about themselves and satisfied that their contribution to the research project had been a positive and useful one.

> "When I came here I was expecting that I would be afraid to answer things. I was belittling myself, saying what can I say to educated people at the university ... For me the interview has been a very happy and joyous event especially as a person who stays at home and does nothing. It makes me feel very proud that people can use my information to further their studies." (F20)

Interviews also offered unemployed subjects the opportunity of getting away from the boredom and monotony of their daily routines.

Several informants commented that their ability to perform successfully in the interview situation had served to build their confidence:

> "I was delighted to be here - the questions you have asked have built my mind - I did become tired, but what the questions have proved to me that I can tackle my concentration problem and overcome it." (M16)

> "When I leave here I will be able to go and tell my friends that if they are asked such questions they must deal with them in a logical manner - your interview makes a good demonstration of logical thinking, which we talk about (developing) in our (comrades) organisation." (M18)

Some commented that the visit to the university had encouraged them to keep trying with their education. M20 commented in particular on seeing black students succeeding in reaching university level despite their massive educational disadvantages.

> "The thing that was remarkable about the university was to see young African students, younger even than myself, studying and looking happy in their faces. I became very jealous and impressed and wanted to join them in a place like this and fulfil my wish of studying. The other highlight was to visit the University residences (with the interpreter during the lunch break) and to see how beautiful the rooms are and to visit and dining hall and observe the food that looks very tasty and full of vitamins. And I thought if I was schooling here I would get healthy and fat."(M20)

While the process of simultaneous translation gave the researcher and informants time to relax and stare out of the window during the interview, the interpreter had no such opportunity. Interpreters often complained that the interviews were too long and exhausting. From the researcher's point of view on the other hand the interviews were a pleasant and positive experience. Once informants had realised that the questions were not going to be difficult or demanding, they generally relaxed and answered the questions with enthusiasm and frequently with humour.

The researcher's main township contact commented that the interviews had been regarded in a positive light by informants. Some months after the interviews had been completed she said she was still being approached by friends or siblings of the informants, asking when it was their turn to visit the university.

4.7 Limitations of interview procedure

As with all research projects the research process had a number of limitations.

i) Social desirability effects

While the researcher's general impression was that subjects felt relaxed and confident to speak openly and honestly during the interviews, there was evidence for a tendency amongst some informants to try to present themselves and their behaviour in what they regarded as a positive light. The two most striking social desirability effects were the emphasis on respectability (especially by women) and the emphasis on education (by both men and women). Each of these is discussed.

With regard to respectability (See Section 7.3 for a discussion of informants' concept of respectability), there was some suggestion of a desire by some informants to present their behaviour in what they perceived as a positive way. This was more evident in relation to women than to men, and most noticeable with regard to their sexual behaviour. Chapter 7 will point to dysjunctions between womens' more vague and generalised self-descriptions in terms of clichéd and stereotypical notions of respectability, and their accounts of more particular details of their lives on the other hand. Despite womens' lip service to the recipes for living associated with an old-fashioned, submissive notion of womanhood, some young women showed a certain degree of independence from these norms in their accounts of their day-to-day lives.

Cohen and Manion (1985) refer to a number of sources of possible bias in interviews: those arising from the subject being interviewed, those arising from the researcher herself, and those arising from the subject-researcher interaction. It is suggested that elements of each of these three sources would have been at play in this social desirability effect. Firstly it appears that there is pressure on all young township women to present themselves as virtuous and respectable, so to an extent this would have been a source of bias arising from the subject being interviewed, and independently of the interview context.

However this source of bias would also have arisen out of the informants' perceptions of the interviewers as highly educated, as well as the location of the interviews at the university (regarded by informants as the highest reaches of the educated group). In the interviews, informants frequently drew connections between success in education and 'good behaviour', saying that those who succeeded in education were usually young

people who stayed at home and studied a lot, as opposed to those who drank, spent a lot of time time away from home, indulged in promiscuous behaviour or had babies at a young age. Given this association between education and good behaviour, and the educated status of the interviewers, the second source of a possible bias towards respectability would have emerged from informants' perceptions of the interviewers as people who would value respectable behaviour.

The second suggestion of a possible social desirability effect lay in the emphasis subjects tended to lay on the importance of education. This is evident in a number of ways. Thus for example Table 4.2 (a list of the most valued group memberships) shows that even some subjects who had dropped out of school, and had little prospect of returning, defined the school as one of their significant group memberships. Several of the school drop-outs amongst the subjects spoke of their plans to 'try to return to school next year', when it was often evident that this option was out of the question for them. In Cohen and Manion's (1985) terms, the first source of this bias would arise from the subject being interviewed, independently of the interview context. Given the reality of township youths' lives where education is generally an essential precondition for upward mobility, education is highly valued in a township frame of reference. However it is suggested that a second reason for the excessive emphasis on education might have been that some informants were slightly in awe of the university environment, and of the educated status of the interviewers, and that this might have caused them to emphasise the importance of education more than they might have under other circumstances.

ii) Validity of informants' accounts

As has been mentioned in section 4.4, informants were sometimes self-conscious and apprehensive at the beginning of the interviews. However by the end of Stage 1 (discussion of research goals and negotiation of interview procedure) they generally appeared more relaxed and willing to speak openly and comfortably about themselves, and usually after the first few questions in Stage 2, they became relaxed and confident. The researcher also generally felt relaxed, and comfortable to probe informants for further details of points they might raise. However she made a point of not probing any references to criminal activities and as has already been mentioned, two informants specifically expressed unwillingness to talk about these. However three other informants were quite willing to talk about their involvement in robbery, car theft, pickpocketing and so on.

The other area where probing was kept to a minimum was that of involvement in political activities. The researcher's reluctance was related to the fact that at the time the interviews were conducted, the African National Congress (ANC) was banned. Activities by the COMRADES (a group membership mentioned by 13 male subjects and five females) were regarded as illegal by the police, with large number of comrades being detained without trial, or subjected to other forms of harrassment by agents of the apartheid state (see Appendix A.1). She felt unwilling to pressurise subjects to divulge 'dangerous information'. However, Chapter 6 (results) will show that subjects did in fact volunteer information about membership of the COMRADES grouping, and about a variety of political activities. A large amount of information was generated without too many probing questions being necessary. The researcher was known by the subjects to be involved in the political service groupings mentioned in Section 4.1, and to be sympathetic to the MDM/ANC. As such she was regarded as 'politically safe' by the informants. (Without good political contacts it would have been impossible for her to conduct a study of this nature in the late 80's in South Africa.) The only political area where subjects appeared reluctant to volunteer information was the area of personal involvement in violent 'political action' (See Section 6.2). Section 6.2 notes that information regarding this aspect of the informants' lives is probably under-represented in the interview data.

iii) Representativeness of sample

This section focusses on two possible sources of bias in the representativeness of the interview sample: geographical bias and political bias.

Geographical bias

To what extent is the sample representative of township youth in South Africa? Possible limitations in represetativeness might arguably be that all of the subjects came from Umlazi township, and about two thirds of them from a particular section of that township. In reply to this criticism it can be argued that while local and regional factors certainly do play a key role in particular details of township life, on the major contextual features of township life are probably fairly typical of township life in South African in general (features such as the growing success of resistance to apartheid by the originally banned ANC, the conflict between Inkatha and more progressive political

forces, social divisions between the employed and unemployed, the wealthy and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, housing shortages, school problems and so on, see Appendix A.1).

Political bias

It might be argued that the sample is politically biased in favour of the MDM/ANC, since all the politically active members of the sample were comrades (supporters of the MDM/ANC), and that the sample was conspicuously lacking in Inkatha youth. (Only one informant, F9, expressed any allegiance to Inkatha. She said she herself had no interest in politics, but that her late father had been an Inkatha councillor.) In this regard it is argued that the vast majority of township youth are either politically neutral or ANC supporters, and that Inkatha youth are in the minority in the townships of the late 80's and early 90's. However the overseas reader is warned that Inkatha supporters might accuse the researcher of political bias. (The researcher would answer this criticism by citing the Markinor Gallup poll, quoted in Appendix A.1, which found that Inkatha had the support of one percent of the urban black population in South Africa, as opposed to the ANC that had the support of 67 percent of urban black adults.) In fact, the issue of political affiliation probably does not have the power to skew the research findings too badly. Overall the everyday adaptative challenges facing youth are probably not massively differentiated according to the precise details of their political affiliation.

iv) Length of interview and language, race and class issues

As has already been mentioned, interpreters sometimes complained that the interview was too long and demanding, and that they experienced tiredness and lapses in concentration. This is obviously a serious problem. Not having to depend on the mediation of an interpreter would have speeded up the interview process considerably. One solution to this problem might have been that the researcher should have improved her Zulu sufficiently to have been able to conduct the interviews alone. This was not feasible in the short-term. (The researcher had in fact studied Zulu for 18 months at university and had a rudimentary knowledge of the language that enabled her to follow a fair amount of the informants' accounts. However it was by no means good enough to enable her to conduct the interviews in Zulu on her own.) Another solution might have been for the interviews to be conducted by a Zulu-speaking co-researcher without the presence of the author. Against this criticism it is argued that it is advantageous if the

person who analyses in-depth interview material (particularly investigating a phenomenon as subtle as social identity) is also the person that conducts the interviews. First-hand acquaintance with informants, as well as familiarity with the way in which the interview proceeded, is an invaluable aid in interview analysis. Presence at the interview make the difference between a 'live transcript' and a 'dead trancript' when it comes to analysis.

Yet another solution would be for research of this nature to be carried out by a Zulu-speaking researcher of working class township origin. The race and class origins of researchers is an issue of current debate in South Africa. While there was strong pressure on progressive white university researchers throughout the 70's and 80's to focus their attention on the problems and injustices faced by black working class people under the racial capitalist regime (this was certainly the case in the 1988/89 period when the current research project was planned and initiated), the early 90's has seen a shift away from this position in the field of womens' studies. The issue of the ability of white middle class women to understand the experience of black working class women, and the appropriateness of white women conducting research of this nature, is an issue that is currently being hotly debated in South Africa since it emerged at the *Women and Gender in Southern Africa* conference held in Durban in 1991 (Horn, 1991). The author finds the argument that people are only able to understand the behaviour and experience of others of the same race, class and gender group as themselves unconvincing. However the political force of the argument, regarding the appropriateness of this situation, is undeniable. One of the legacies of apartheid and capitalism has been that working class black people have been denied access to education and to research skills. The elimination of race and class bias in the South African educational system and research community needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency in the new South Africa.

4.8 Concluding comments

Section 4.7 has debated some of the possible limitations of the interview procedure. It has looked at possible social desirability effects, the reliability and validity of the interviews, the representativeness of the sample, the length of the interview and the language, race and class location of the researcher. However notwithstanding this range of possible limitations, and given that no research project is ever perfect, it is suggested that on the whole the interview procedure was successful. The interviews were conducted in a relaxed and congenial atmosphere, and it is believed that informants felt free to speak openly and honestly about their lives. Having trained and worked as both

a journalist and a clinical psychologist prior to working as a social researcher, the author conducted the study armed with a varied and extensive range of interview skills and experience. She had spent the year preceding this research conducting a study into family life in Umlazi township, and had frequently visited the township in the process of conducting this study, as well as through her counselling work with former detainees, restrictees[14] and their families. On the basis of these experiences she had some first-hand knowledge of the particular township in which the informants lived. The interviews were a positive and stimulating experience for the researcher. Apart from three informants who said they had found the interview boring, and three who were neutral about the experience, the remaining 34 people said they had found the interview a positive and enjoyable experience. On this basis it is argued that on the whole the interview procedure generated a valid account of the social identity of the informants.

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14 Under strong internal and international pressure to release political detainees from prison, one of the many forms of repression invented by the state to undermine political opposition and harrass political activists in the late 80's was to release detainees from prison, but then restrict their movements to the physical boundaries of their homes.

5 ANALYSIS OF DATA: DEVELOPMENT OF CODING FRAME

In Chapter 3 the first steps in the construction of a methodological bridge between the theoretical requirements of the research, and the concrete task of data analysis were presented. In Chapter 5 a more detailed account is given of how these theoretical requirements can be used to develop a practical method of data analysis.

5.1 Rationale for development of coding frame

While informants are subjectively aware of the groups that they belong to, they are not always conscious of the link between particular actions and particular group memberships, neither are they necessarily aware of the way in which their actions are shaped by changing social demands. For this reason social identity is not something we can ask informants about directly in the hope of gaining complete answers. Some components of social identity may have to be inferred from the data. Such inferences from the informants' open-ended accounts of their day-to-day activities were drawn using the techniques of interview analysis outlined in this chapter.

The aim of the analysis was to investigate the relationship between behavioural options available to the individual, and his or her membership of particular social groupings, such as the family, the peer group and the church. According to social identity theory individuals are faced with a range of possible behaviours in their day-to-day lives. The actual choices an individual makes will be influenced by his or her group memberships. Against this background, the first step in analysing the data was to ascertain the choices of behaviour available to the informants, and to begin to cluster ranges of choices around particular group memberships.

The analysis needed to go further than this however. The link between behaviour and group membership had to be explored against the background of particular social conditions (viz. changing township society) and there was a need to link behavioural choices to specific life situations faced by the informants. To satisfy this requirement,

the analysis started from the situation-specific nature of social identity. The self consists of a range of self-categorisations, each one associated with prescriptions for action, and salient in a specific range of situations. Behaviour cannot be understood independently of its context.

In order to relate behavioural choices to their social context, they were regarded as responses to specific challenges or problems posed by the individual's social and material world. Social identity was treated as an adaptive resource, the process whereby the individual responded to the day-to-day problems of his or her life circumstances. It was seen as a resource for dealing with social situations, an adaptive mechanism for tackling the social and material conditions of daily existence. Individuals engage with these demands according to a set of 'recipes for living'. They choose from the range of behavioural options associated with the social categorisation that happens to be salient at that particular time.

Against this background, inferences of social identity were drawn from semi-structured, open-ended interview transcripts about the day-to-day lives of the informants as follows. The data were examined for evidence of:

i) behavioural choices made by the individual in his or her day-to-day life (e.g. should I drink or not?)
ii) the situations that presented the individual with this option (e.g. I get very bored on Sundays, and friends go to the shabeen)
iii) the choice made by the individual (e.g. No I will not drink)
iv) the factors that influenced this choice (e.g. 1. my mother would be very upset if I came home drunk 1a. it would signify disrespect to her 1b She is proud that I am not like the neighbour's drunken son. 2. I want to become a lawyer, those who drink have no future)
v) adaptative challenges (e.g. 1. establish a code of conduct; 2. plan for a bright future)
vi) in-groups (e.g. 1. Family (dutiful son) 2. Upwardly mobile scholar)
vii) out-groups (e.g. 1. Disrespectful neighbour's son. 2. Drinker (with no prospects).

These seven questions formed the basis if the coding frame within which each response was classified. Further details of this coding process are included in Section 5.2.

In summary the purpose of the analysis was to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What are the most influential group memberships in the social identity of township youth?
2. What are the most important adaptative challenges facing the informants in their day to day lives?
3. What are the most common behavioural options associated with each adaptative challenge?
4. Is there any difference between males and females with regard to:
   (a) the range of behavioural options associated with each adaptative challenge
   (b) the number of responses devoted to each adaptative challenge and
   (c) the number of responses associated with each group membership?

5.2 Mechanics of data analysis

In chapter 3 the theoretical rationale for the method of data analysis is outlined, and in Section 5.1 a further step is taken in order to frame these theoretical questions in terms of four empirically answerable questions. In this section the practicalities of analysis, which was conducted in four phases, are considered.

5.2.1 Phase 1: Pilot Coding Phase

In phase one the coding categories of IN-GROUP and ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE were developed and refined. The coding frame outlined in section 5.1 above was derived from theoretical considerations, and the next stage was to develop the coding frame into a coding tool that was appropriate to the empirical data. This was done by conducting two pilot analyses on sub-samples of the total sample. For the sub-samples two different sets of 10 respondents (five females and five males) were chosen so that the coding frame was developed using 20 of the total of 40 respondents.

Developing the coding frame involved classifying and reclassifying each response according to the seven headings outlined in Section 5.1. This process was continued until common themes emerged, and it became possible to condense the wide and divergent array of initial entries under the headings ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE and IN-GROUPS into a more manageable and limited set of classes. Repeated 'practice sessions' were carried out to find a limited number of suitable common categories that would serve to classify each coded response. After a lengthy process of classification and reclassification of responses a list of 12 IN-GROUPS, and 20 ADAPTATIVE

CHALLENGES was arrived at. The development of this classification system marked the end of the pilot phase of data analysis.

Although each response was initially coded according to the seven categories outlined in the coding frame in section 5.1 only four categories were explicitly retained for final analysis in this thesis. These were the categories of (i) BEHAVIOURAL OPTION, (iii) DIRECTION OF CHOICE, (v) ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE and (vi) IN-GROUP. For this reason only these four categories will be specifically referred to. However the information falling under the other headings was retained and provided important contextual material for the four central categories.

In the final coding frame, the in-group contained 12 sub-categories. These are listed below in alphabetical order, with the MISCELLANEOUS category placed at the end.

1. **BLACK** This refers to the racial category of black African person in apartheid South Africa where African people are distinguished from so-called 'Indian' or 'coloured' people. This group membership was most frequently cited in relation to the out-group of WHITE PERSON. References to Indian and coloured people were minimal.

2. **CHURCH** Informants were associated with a wide range of church memberships. Christianity is the most common religion amongst black South Africans. Membership of this category was defined solely by whether or not a person attended church. When the interviewers probed informants regarding the existence of an out-group of NON CHURCH-GOERS, informants invariably said that there was no difference between the two groups other than the issue of church attendance.

3. **COMRADES** This group membership was used by informants to refer to politically conscious young township people supportive of the Mass Democratic Movement and the African National Congress. Criteria for COMRADES membership are discussed in detail in Section 6.18. informants in this group distinguished themselves sharply from the out-groups of INKATHA members, people who were POLITICALLY NEUTRAL, and the COMTSOTSIS, criminals who operated under the guise of being comrades.

4. **DECENT CITIZEN** Informants did not specifically refer to this group membership by name. It was coined by the author during the process of analysis after it appeared that while a large number of responses were not associated with any explicitly named group membership (such as COMRADE or FAMILY), they <u>did</u> appear to be associated with connotations of a reliable and respectable community member. Such a person

would be non-violent, well-behaved, hard-working and eager to uplift themselves and their families, and would also regard themselves as 'one of the people' (humble and accepting of the most disadvantaged members of the community, as opposed to a proud or snobbish person who thought they were better than their less advantaged fellows). Out-groups here included TSOTSIS (criminals), DRINKERS, FIGHTERS, SNOBS and PROMISCUOUS WOMEN.

5. **EDUCATED** This grouping referred to (a) people who were currently scholars, (b) those who had been lucky enough to successfully finish school, or even get some kind of tertiary training, and (c) also to those who still aspired to the goal of finishing school and getting tertiary training. Even some informants who had been forced to leave school due to a range of problems still identified with this group, expressing an intention to try and continue their studies (e.g. through correspondence) and gain access to the opportunities for self, family and community upliftment that educated people had privileged access to. The out-groups cited in this regard were: SCHOOL DROP-OUTS, THE UNEMPLOYED, WORKERS (people doing unskilled work, for which no education was necessary) and TEENAGE MOTHERS (young women who had left school due to pregnancy, and now stayed at home with their babies). In the early stages of analysis a distinction was made between the categories of SCHOLAR and EDUCATED PERSON, with the formed referring simply to those people currently attending school (whether or not they were succeeding there) and the latter referring to those people who had already finished school and post-school training and were already well on the way towards achieving a 'bright future'. Because neither of these categories were big enough to constitute a separate category on its own a decision was made to merge these two categories.

6. **FAMILY** All but one[15] informant lived with a wide range of family members, generally under very overcrowded conditions. Apart from the four informants whose mothers had died[16], the common denominator in all the families of co-residence was a mother and siblings (with fathers often absent or dead). References by informants to family membership were almost always to those relatives who lived in the same house as the informants. When questioned specifically about the influence of 'the family' however, informants almost always referred to the influence of parents, unless they specifically stated that they were referring to other family members (e.g. siblings, or mother's brother).

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15 The exception was M10 whose elderly parents had retired to a rural area. He had been taken in by a poor family which had no adult men in it. They had offered him accomodation in exchange for the protection that would be provided by having a young, strong man on the premises.

16 Of these two (M14 and M16) lived with grandparents; M6 lived in his late mother's house with an array of unmarried brothers; and F20 lived with her father and siblings.

7. **FRIENDS** This referred to those peers that informants chose to spend leisure time with. Given a strict system of age and gender relations, with very few exceptions one's friends were of the same age group, and of the same gender.

8. **GENDER** This category was used to classify responses where informants specifically cited being a woman or a man in association with a particular behavioural choice. It was used more frequently by girls than by boys. The group membership of GENDER as one of the 11 main group memberships cited by informants is always referred to in capital letters, as opposed to the researcher's analytical category of gender, which is always referred to in lower case.

9. **LOVERS** This category referred to girlfriends and boyfriends, friends of the opposite gender with whom one had some sort of sexual relationship. The term 'lover' was chosen because of its gender-free connotations. At all stages of the thesis, the terms lover, girlfriend and boyfriend will be used in the context of sexual liaisons.

10. **URBAN** This category referred to people who lived in the urban areas, generally townships. The out-group in this regard was that of RURAL people.

11. **YOUNGER GENERATION** Informants distinguished between their own generation and the out-group of their parents generation (OLDER GENERATION).

12. **MISCELLANEOUS** This category included those group memberships mentioned too infrequently to be represented separately. These included **SPORTS GROUPS, COMMUNITY CONSCIOUS CITIZEN** (someone who was actively involved in promoting the welfare of other community members through helping old people to clean their houses for example), **DRINKERS, GAMBLERS, UNEMPLOYED, PROFESSIONAL PERSON** (a person with a job requiring some form of post-school training), **RESIDENT OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY** (membership of a disadvantaged and troubled community), **TEENAGE PARENT, PHANTSULA'S** or **DUDES**. The latter two self-categorisations refer to non-political rival male youth style groups associated with particular clothing, behaviour (e.g. dancing) and attitudes to women. Both groupings are discussed in some detail in Section 6.20. The PHANTSULAS tended to have a tough, macho and aggressive image, associated for

example with drinking and treating women in a rough and assertive way. The DUDES were more sophisticated and well-mannered, dressed more smartly and behaved in what the PHANTSULAS considered to be an effete and effeminate way.

If a group membership is cited in connection with a behavioural option this does not necessarily mean that the group has succeeded in influencing the informant in this respect. All that it means is that membership of this group has presented the informant with the possibility of behaving in a particular way, whether or not the informant has chosen that behavioural option or not. In other words the in-group categories refer to groups that the respondents associated with particular adaptative challenges and behavioural options, rather than to groups that determined the choices of options. For example, the in-group of FAMILY would be coded as the relevant in-group if a male informant said his mother had been angry with him when he had walked slowly to the shop on conducting an errand for her, and not returned with the groceries as quickly as she had hoped. In this case the categorisation of FAMILY as the in-group refers to the fact that the FAMILY presents the young man with the behavioural possibility of conducting his errands quickly, whether or not in practice he actually chose to follow this particular 'recipe for living'. A future study of this nature might be improved by coding not only the in-group associated with this particular behavioural option, but also whether or not the informant in question chose to taken this option. This would make it possible to quantify the extent to which the influence of particular in-groups was successful or not.

We now turn our attention to the second standardised category in the coding frame, that of ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE. The category of adaptative challenge contained 20 sub-categories into which responses could be coded. These 20 adaptative sub-challenges, which are listed below, were grouped in three clusters: Constructing a Code of Conduct, Planning for the Future and Networking.

A: Constructing a Code of Conduct

This cluster included adaptative challenges referring to the construction of a code of conduct in the following areas of life:

1. Crime
2. Political conflict
3. Interpersonal conflict
4. Freedom of movement
5. Interpersonal conduct
6. Sexual behaviour
7. Alcohol

B: Planning for the future

This cluster involved informants accounts of the following aspects of their own, their family's and the community's future:

8. Community improvement
9. Education
10. Personal family life
11. Career plans

C: Networking

This cluster referred to establishing social networks in the interests of the following life demands:

12. Educational assistance
13. Emotional support
14. Having fun
15. Broadening one's horizons
16. Guidance
17. Material support
18. Political identity
19. Choosing lovers
20. Choosing friends

Having established the above sub-categories of responses in the IN-GROUPS and ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE categories, the final coding was begun.

5.2.2 Phase 2: Final Coding

Each response in each interview was finally coded using the newly developed coding frame. The data were entered into a spreadsheet data processing package (Lotus 123). A example of a coded spreadsheet is included in Appendix A.3. (This seven-category phase of analysis involved a total of 7504 responses (3319 female responses and 4185 male responses), and yielded 52528 cells of coded data.)

5.2.3 Phase 3: Ordering of coded material

1. Once the interviews had been coded as outlined above, they were sorted according to ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE CLUSTER and GENDER. This resulted in the following six files:

i) Females: code of conduct
ii) Males: code of conduct
iii) Females: networking
iv) Males: networking
v) Females: planning for the future
vi) Males: planning for the future

2. Within each of these files the information was further sorted in the following way.

i) The various adaptative challenges falling within each of the three challenge clusters provided the primary sorting key. For example, the information within the CODE OF CONDUCT adaptative challenge cluster was sorted into challenges such as INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT and so on. The information within the NETWORKING adaptative challenge cluster was sorted into challenges such as EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, MATERIAL SUPPORT and so on.

ii) Within each specific adaptative challenge, the data were then sorted according to SUBJECT NUMBER which provided the secondary sorting key. For example information filed under EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE was further sorted into separate groups for F1's responses, F2's responses and so on.

iii) The tertiary sorting key was IN-GROUP. Each individual informant's set of responses on each particular challenge was sorted according to the in-group associated with the behavioural option.

The final result was a subject-by-subject list of each of the 20 adaptative challenges, the behavioural options associated with it, the direction of choice on these options, and the in-groups associated with each behavioural option.

5.2.4 Phase 4: detailed qualitative summary of data in terms of options

The aim of this phase was to determine the most typical behavioural options facing township youth within each adaptative challenge. The data were scanned, and the most common or typical behavioural choices were highlighted and listed, followed by a count of the direction of the choices made (how many informants said YES and how many said NO to the behvaioural option). Separate lists of behavioural options were compiled for males and females.

Examples of typical behavioural options associated with the category CODE OF CONDUCT: CRIME, for males, included:

i) to participate in crime (Y=3, N=17)

ii) to carry a knife (Y=3, N=9)

Less common or atypical responses (mentioned by fewer than four informants of the gender in question) were disregarded. Typical behavioural options are outlined and discussed in detail in Part C of each section of Chapter 6.

5.2.5 Phase 5: quantitative description of data

Four key questions were outlined in the concluding paragraph of Section 5.1. Phases 1 to 4 of the data analysis were concerned with answering questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 (a). Phase 5 is concerned with the answering of questions 4 (b) and (c) which are restated here:

4. Is there any difference between males and females with regard to:
   (b) the number of responses devoted to each adaptative challenge; and
   (c) the number of responses associated with each group membership?

In order to answer question 4 (b), the proportion of responses each informant devoted to each adaptative challenge was calculated by dividing the number of scores devoted to each challenge by the total number of scores the informant had devoted to the challenge cluster in which it fell (CODE OF CONDUCT, or FUTURE, or NETWORKING).

> E.g.: M1 devoted 34 out of 120 CODE OF CONDUCT responses to the challenge CODE OF CONDUCT:CRIME, so that the proportion of his code of conduct responses devoted to this challenge was 0.28.

In order to answer question 4 (c), the proportion of each informant's responses associated with each group membership was calculated, by dividing the number of responses associated with each group by the total number of responses on that particular challenge cluster.

> E.g.: Of M1's 120 CODE OF CONDUCT responses, 24 were associated with the group membership FAMILY so that the proportion of his CODE OF CONDUCT responses associated with this group membership was 0.2.

On any statistical analysis that is done on proportions, it is necessary to stabilise the variance, and in order to do this the data were subjected to an arcsin transform.[17] Multi-factor analyses of variance were performed on the transformed data. The first analysis examined the interaction between GENDER and ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE on each of the three challenge clusters, the second examined the interaction between GENDER and GROUP MEMBERSHIP on each of the three challenge clusters.

The results of the GENDER x ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE analyses are shown in Figures 6.1 (CODE OF CONDUCT CLUSTER), 6.2 (FUTURE CLUSTER) and 6.3 (NETWORKING CLUSTER) at the beginning of the next chapter. These figures point to a number of significant differences in the proportion of responses devoted by males and females to particular individual challenges. The results of the GENDER x GROUP MEMBERSHIP analyses are shown in figures 6.4 (CODE OF CONDUCT CLUSTER), 6.5 (FUTURE CLUSTER), 6.6 (NETWORKING CLUSTER) and 6.7 (IRRESPECTIVE OF CLUSTER) at the beginning of the next chapter. These figures indicate a number of significant gender differences in the proportion of responses associated with particular group memberships.

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17 In order to stabilise the variance of proportions the data were transformed by taking the inverse sin of the square root of each proportion (arcsin transform). To improve the stability further, all zero responses were replaced by 1/4, when the total number of responses made by one individual on one challenge cluster was less than 50 (Snedecor and Cochran, 1989).

5.3 Primary focus of data analysis: a comment

This chapter concludes by referring to a possible criticism of the emphasis of the interview analysis. The study began by focussing on GROUP MEMBERSHIPS. The interview questionnaire was drawn up with the aim of eliciting the five most highly valued group memberships in the lives of the informants, and gathering information about each of these group memberships (see Sections 3.1 and 4.5). During the development of the method of analysis however, the primary focus of the study shifted. In the interests of examining the process of identity formation in its social context, ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES now became the prime category of analysis (see Sections 3.2 and 5.1). The results were analysed and presented on a challenge-by-challenge basis, with GROUP MEMBERSHIPS taking second place. On the basis of this it might be argued that the analysis suffered from a degree of 'group neglect'.

Another possible sign of 'group neglect' has already been mentioned in Section 5.2.1. In analysing the data, the category of GROUP MEMBERSHIP classified group memberships only insofar as they were associated with particular behavioural options, without specifying whether or not they had served to determine the informant's particular behavioural choice. Yet another piece of evidence for possible 'group neglect' might be the lack of attention paid to the role played by out-groups in the process of social identity formation. Given both SIT and SCT's definition of the process of categorisation in terms of the accentuation of within-group similarities and between-group differences, critics might argue that present study neglects the out-group.

In summary, orthodox social identity theorists might have preferred a more detailed focus on (i) the nature of the different group memberships, (ii) the broad criteria for inclusion and exclusion in various in-groups and out-groups, and (iii) a more detailed account of the relationship between behavioural options, directions of choices and particular group memberships. The author would agree that such a focus would be a useful one. In particular (iii) would provide a useful data-base for a more detailed study of the way in which group memberships provide men and women with options that serve to reproduce or challenge existing power relations, an issue that is referred to in Section 7.4.

During the process of data coding and preliminary interpretation, however, a decision was made to focus primarily on ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES. While the interviews provided interesting data regarding particular examples of real-life social group

memberships, these data did not seem to provide the most fertile ground for an extended social identity theory that took account of the individual-society interaction (social psychology's 'master problem'). In comparison adaptative challenges promised to be a more fruitful area of investigation in the interests of extending the theory to take account of the role of social context in individual identity construction. On these grounds, adaptative challenges and the challenge-option-group trialogue were chosen as the primary areas of analytical focus. A more detailed focus on the relationship between group memberships, behavioural options and directions of choices could nevertheless form a fruitful basis for a future study of gender identity.

5.4 Concluding comments

In Chapter 3 the theoretical justification for a particular method of data analysis was outlined. In Chapter 5 details of the methods used to analyse the data were given. In Section 5.1 the rationale for the development of the coding frame was outlined. In Section 5.2 the five phase process used to refine the coding frame into its final form, and then to code all the data, was described. Phases 1 to 4 involved qualitative thematic analysis of the data. Phase 5 involved a quantitative account of the relationships between the categories of GENDER and GROUP MEMBERSHIP, and between GENDER and ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE. The results of both the qualitative and quantitative analyses are presented in the next chapter. Section 5.3 concluded with a discussion of the emphasis of the analysis on adaptative challenges rather than group memberships. It justified this choice of emphasis on the grounds of this thesis's interest in extending social identity theory to take account of the interaction between individual identity formation and changing social context.

6 RESULTS AND COMMENTARIES: ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES, BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS AND GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

In this chapter the results of the process of interview analysis outlined in the previous chapter are processed. The analysis was designed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the adaptative challenges facing the subjects in their day to day lives?
2. What are the most common behavioural options associated with each adaptative challenge?
3. Which group memberships most strongly influence the choice among the behavioural options?
4. What gender differences exist i) in the options associated with each adaptative challenge, ii) in the group memberships associated with each challenge, iii) in the number of responses associated with each challenge?

The 20 challenges are presented in three clusters: Constructing a Code of Conduct (Challenges 1 to 7); Planning for the future (Challenges 8 to 11) and Networking (Challenges 12 to 20). The coding frame for challenges is given in Appendix A.4. This coding frame specifies the rules used to classify responses, including those which were difficult to classify, and includes illustrative quotations.

In each section of this chapter three headings are used:

A: Behavioural options

Each adaptative challenge is associated with a number of behavioural options, each of which may be associated with particular group memberships which had influenced subjects' choices. There was evidence for gender-specific differences in both the behavioural options and the group memberships. For this reason female and male perceptions of each challenge and the significant group memberships are reported separately. Within these separate lists, responses common to both genders are presented

in italic script. For each gender, options are listed in the order ranging from most typical to least typical.

In section A the most common options in each challenge are listed, followed by the number of subjects who mentioned the option, and the direction of their choices (Y stands for Yes, N for No). In open-ended interviews, the fact that an informant does not mention something does not necessarily mean that it was not an important issue in their lives. It could simply mean that the issue was something they took so for granted that it did not occur to them to mention it. This *caveat* should be borne in mind in examining this chapter's account of the number of times each option was mentioned. Only responses mentioned by at least four subjects of the gender under focus are included (except in a few exceptional cases of particular interest).

B: Group memberships

In section B, the number of responses (n) associated with each group is listed for males and females. (These numbers are based on the sum of responses made by all 20 females and by all 20 males.) Groups are included only if they influenced 12 or more of the sum total of responses of all 20 women or all 20 men. The number of responses associated with the three most common group memberships are expressed as percentages of the total number of responses by males or females to the challenge in question.

C: Commentary

This section will be subdivided into three aspects.

Nature of the challenge: A brief description of the challenge.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge: A brief outline linking the challenge to the social and material conditions of township life which present youth with a particular set of behavioural options.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation: A more detailed discussion of the behavioural options which puts flesh on the bones of the skeletal list of options provided in section A. In this section quotations from interviews that illustrate the options are included. Where necessary more detailed explanations of

options that are not self-explanatory are given. The most salient or interesting differences between females and males are highlighted.

Before turning to the detailed accounts of each adaptative challenge, the graphs resulting from the analysis of variance outlined in Section 5.2.5 are presented here. Figures 6.1 to 6.3 provide a summary of the gendered differences in the proportion of responses associated with each group membership for each challenge cluster. (These figures provide a statistical overview of the more detailed challenge-group relationships included under heading B of each section in this chapter.) Figures 6.4 to 6.6 provide a summary of the gendered differences in the proportion of responses associated with each adaptative challenge for each challenge cluster. Figure 6.7 shows gendered differences in group memberships over the total number of responses, irrespective of challenge cluster. On these graphs the following symbols were used to denote significance levels: *** significant at the 0.1% level, ** significant at the 1% level, * significant at the 5% level, + significant at the 10% level, ns not significant.

Figures 6.1 to 6.3 indicate that there were significant gendered differences in the proportion of responses devoted to the following each adaptative challenges. Females devoted a significantly greater proportion of their CODE OF CONDUCT responses to the challenges of FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT and SEXUAL CONDUCT; of their PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE responses to FAMILY LIFE; and of their NETWORKING responses to EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, HAVING FUN and CHOOSING LOVERS. Males devoted a significantly larger proportion of their CODE OF CONDUCT responses to the challenges of CRIME and POLITICAL CONFLICT; of their PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE responses to COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT and EDUCATION; and of their NETWORKING responses to MATERIAL SUPPORT and POLITICAL IDENTITY.

Figures 6.4 to 6.6 show the significant gendered differences in the proportion of responses associated with various group memberships, from one challenge cluster to the next. Figure 6.7 shows that over all the interview responses, and irrespective of cluster, females associated a significantly larger proportion of their responses with the group memberships of CHURCH, FAMILY, GENDER and LOVERS than did males. Males associated a significantly larger proportion of their responses with the group memberships of COMRADES and MISCELLANEOUS.

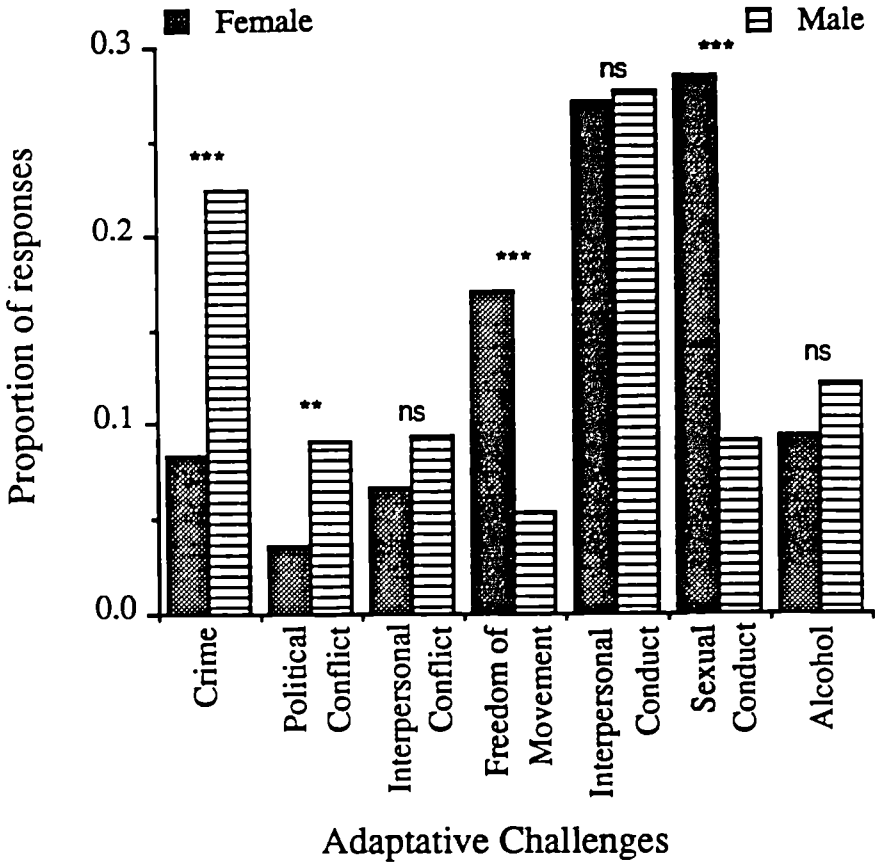

Figure 6.1 Code of Conduct: Proportion of responses devoted to each challenge by females and by males

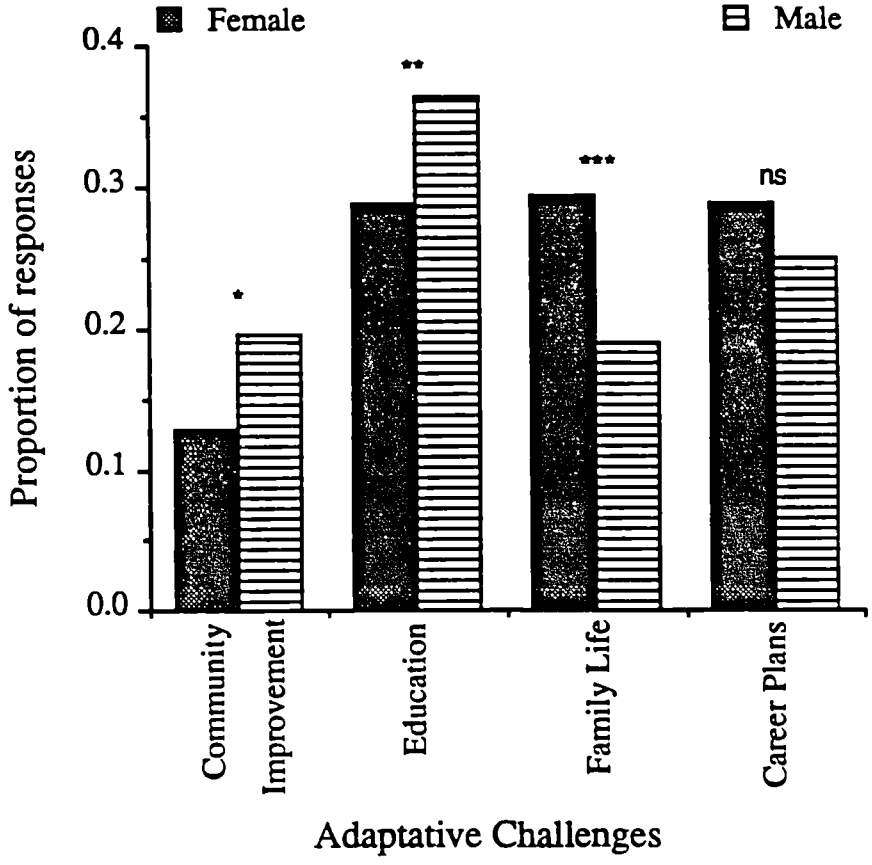

Figure 6.2 Planning for the Future: Proportion of responses devoted to each challenge by females and by males

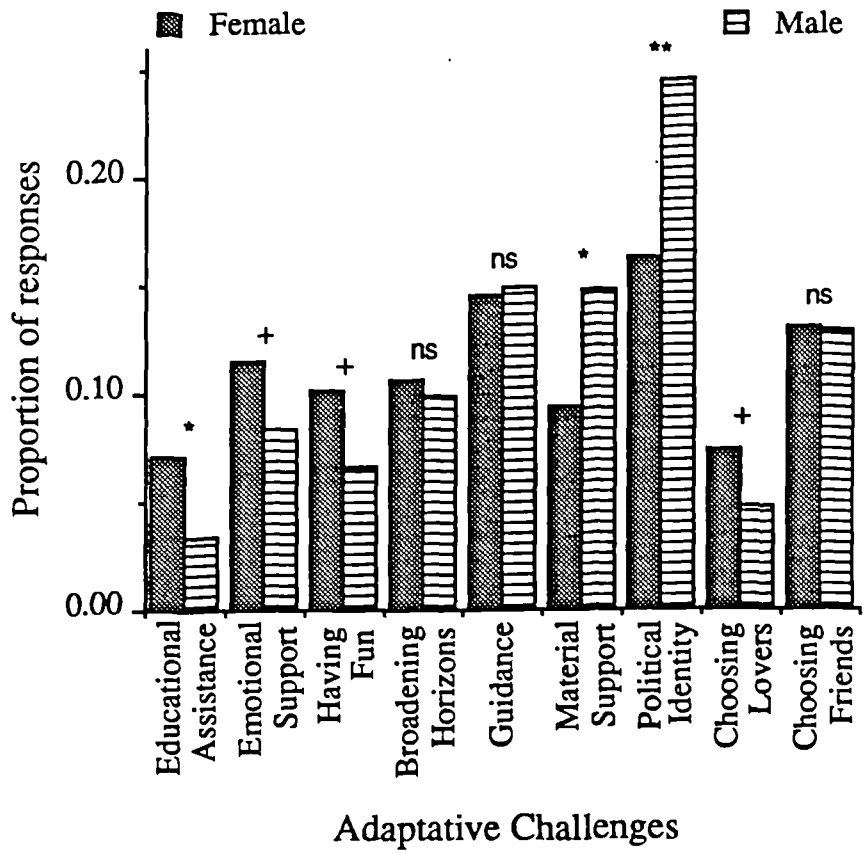

Figure 6.3 Networking: Proportion of responses devoted to each challenge by females and by males

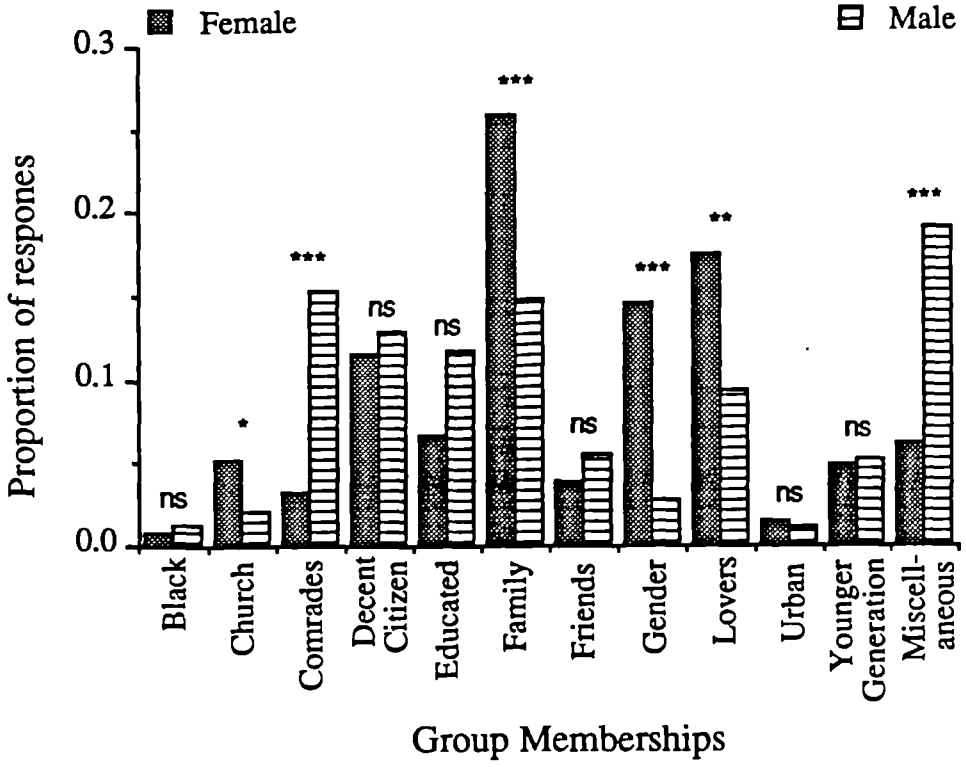

Figure 6.4 Code of Conduct: Proportion of responses associated with each group membership by females and by males

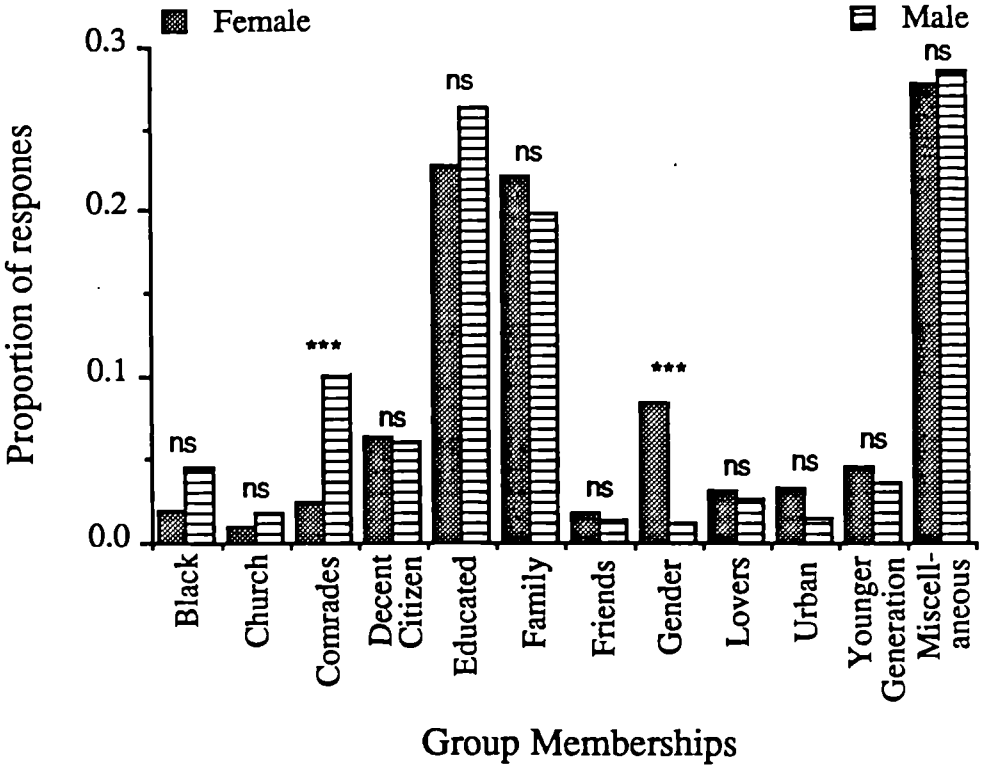

Figure 6.5 Planning for the Future: Proportion of responses associated with each group membership by females and by males

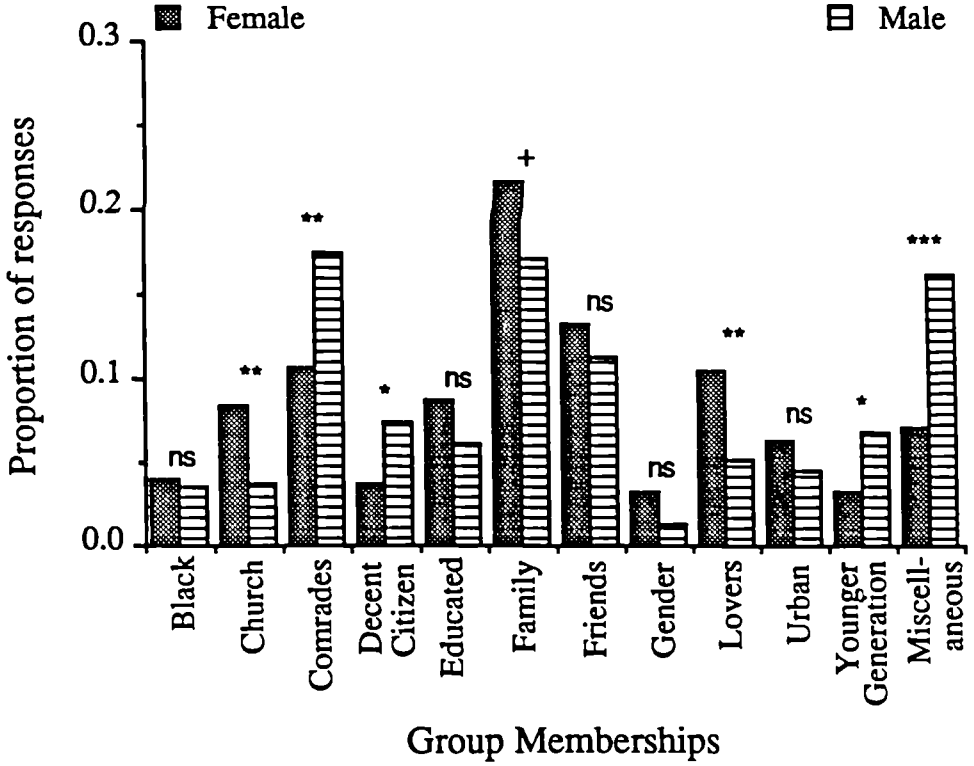

Figure 6.6 Networking: Proportion of responses associated with each group membership by females and by males

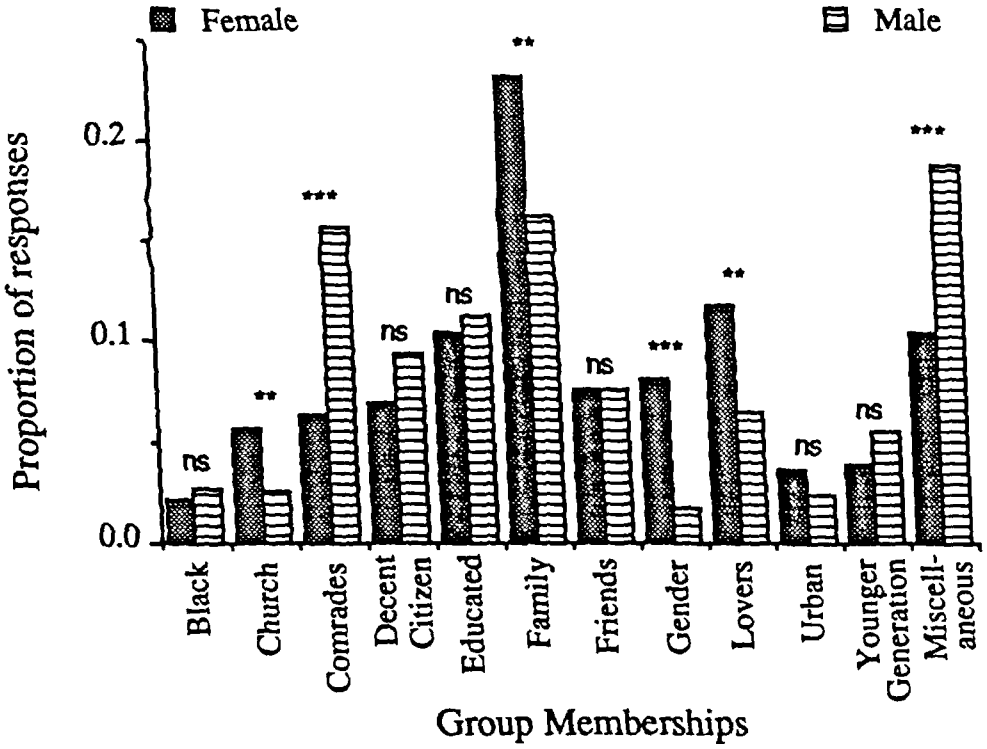

Figure 6.7 Proportion of responses, irrespective of challenge, associated with each group membership by females and by males

6.1 Adaptative challenge 1

Constructing a code of conduct: crime

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To live in fear of threats to one's personal safety*[18] (Y≠13)
a) To live in fear of harm to family members (Y=7)
b) To feel vulnerable to attacks by drunks (Y=4)
c) To go into hiding after death threats (Y=2)

2. *Attitudes to Peoples' Courts*
a) To approve of Peoples' Courts (Y=6,N=3)
b) To participate in Peoples' Court hearings (Y=3)
c) To participate in Peoples' Court punishments (Y=1,N=2)

3. *To participate in crime* (N=6)[19]
a) To steal from houses or shops (N=5)
b) To kill (N=4)

MALES

1. *To participate in crime* (Y=3,N=17)
a) To pickpocket (N=12)
b) To steal from houses or shops (Y=2,N=8)
c) To join a comstotsi gang (N=9)
d) To kill (N=6)
e) To rob (Y=1,N=4)
f) To steal cars (Y=1,N=3)
g) To rape (N=4)

2. *Attitudes to Peoples' Courts*
a) To approve of Peoples' Courts (Y=11,N=3)
b) To participate in Peoples' Court hearings (Y=11,N≠3)
c) To participate in Peoples' Court punishments (Y=12,N=2)
d) To participate in comrades crime prevention activities (Y=11,N=3)

3. *To live in fear of threats to one's personal safety* (Y≠12)
a) To fear attacks by criminals (Y=6)
b) To fear attack by political rivals (Y=5)
c) To fear attacks by fellow gamblers (Y=5)
d) To fear shabeen violence (Y=4)
e) To fear physical harm by the police (Y=4)

4. To carry a knife (Y=3,N=9)

5. To try to reform criminals by persuading them to join the comrades (Y=4).

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18 The reader is reminded that options common to both genders are presented in italic script.

19 The sum of the numbers in sub-option 3a) and 3b) do not add up to 6. This is because one informant may sometimes have mentioned more than one sub-option. This comment must be borne in mind throughout Chapter 6.

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Male respondents devoted a significantly larger proportion of their responses to this challenge than did females (See Figure 6.1). Participation in grassroots crime prevention and punishment activities were chiefly the concern of men, as were the options of taking part in criminal activities or carrying weapons. In the option that was mentioned by the most women on this challenge (that of living in fear of threats to ones personal safety) women saw themselves only as victims of crime. On the range of options mentioned by men, they often gave an account of themselves as potentially active participants in crime prevention, punishment, or perpetration.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=101); Decent citizen 29 (29%); Comrades 26 (26%).

Males: (n=422); Comrades 126 (30%); Miscellaneous* 120 (28%): Decent citizen 83 (20%); Family 32; Friends 17; Younger generation 12.

> * *The self-categorisation which featured most frequently in the MISCELLANEOUS category was MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY (classifying a range of vague responses relating to community crime and violence not associated with any other group membership). Others were GAMBLER and DRINKER.*

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge refers to informants' responses regarding the endemic crime and non-political violence in the community (responses relating to political violence were coded in Challenge 2). It includes personal views on crime, and peoples' experience of crime and non-political community violence, in the role of victim or agent.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

The township community is characterised by high levels of poverty, alienation, crime and violence. Township residents have to live under conditions of constant personal danger; each individual stands a high risk of being a victim of crime and violence. Against the background of the failure of the police to reduce the high crime rate, and the grassroots political goal of creating 'organisations of Peoples' power' in the

townships, Peoples' Courts and comrades crime prevention teams have been set up and are active in the township. Young people are able to become involved in crime prevention and punishment. At the same time, informants referred to opportunities and pressures to participate in criminal or violent activities themselves, often in collaboration with groups of gangsters (or 'tsotsis').

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

As was outlined in the introductory section of this chapter, the purpose of this elaborative section is (i) to put flesh on the bones of the listed options, (ii) to provide background to those options that are not self-explanatory, and (iii) to discuss the most salient or interesting gendered similarities and differences in the perceptions of challenges by men and by women.

The discussion of this challenge is one of the longer ones in this chapter, and for this reason it will be arranged under five headings in order to pick out the central themes cutting across respondents' discussions of this challenge. These headings are Participation in crime; Peoples' Courts (nature of Courts, nature of punishment, gendered nature of the Courts, attitudes to the Courts); Carrying weapons; Threats to personal safety; and Associated group memberships.

i) Participation in crime

Subjects characterised township life in terms of high levels of violent and non-violent crime. This made the construction of a range of guidelines for dealing with crime a central issue for township youth, expecially for men. This adaptative challenge featured significantly more in the responses of males than of females. The option to participate in crime was mentioned in passing by six girls, but none of them discussed this in detail, or expressed any interest in it. On the other hand all of the 20 boys referred to crime as a common option for young township men, particularly for the unemployed. Overwhelmingly the men (17 respondents) said they were strongly opposed to crime, seeing it as a unacceptable option.

> "(Did you even consider becoming a criminal yourself?) No (emphatically). (Why not?) Well I used to tell myself that I will succeed in my ambitions without having to do something bad to other people." (M7)

However the general feeling was that if a young man did not watch out it was easy to be led astray by bad friends. Young men spoke of pressures that criminal gangs placed

on young township men to join them, sometimes tricking them into getting involved in their activities.

> "It is possible to get into serious problems if you are one who likes to impress his peer group[20] - and the moment that these youngsters are involved in drinking, they drink heavily, exceed the limit and start misbehaving, pickpocketing, harrassing other people and so on. And when they are caught even the innocent ones get taken away and punished." (M14)

> "The gangsters put lots of youngsters in a trap by offering gifts of the money they have robbed from other people. They always pretend to be nice to someone they want to lure into their team. Once you have taken something from them in the form of a gift, there is no way you can stop them from forcing you to join them - this is the way in which lots of youngsters become tsotsis." (M14)

Petty crimes such as pickpocketing, housebreaking and bag-snatching were often referred to as a potential source of income for the impoverished unemployed. Thus while all respondents expressed strong disapproval of these practices, there was general agreement that pickpocketing was sometimes the only option available to unemployed youth. There was some sympathy for the predicament that drove desperate young men to engage in this activity. However informants said that not all tsotsis were driven to crime by hunger and poverty. Some even came from wealthy families, and indulged in these bad habits because they were instrinsically anti-social or 'bad' people.

The most common form of criminal activity mentioned was what respondents referred to as 'pickpocketing'. This term was used to refer to the robbing of workers on their way home from work, usually on trains or buses, or in the vicinity of township railway stations and bus stops at night. Pickpocketing was an option mentioned by 12 male respondents, but each one dismissed this option as an acceptable course of action. Of these 12, only one (M15, unemployed, five years of schooling) said he had once been a pickpocket himself. He had stolen R100 from a worker, which he spent on a pair of trousers. He said that word of his criminal activity had got to an older employed youth who had acted as his benefactor, who threatened to cut off friendship and financial help if he ever behaved in this way again. For this pragmatic reason he had not repeated this behaviour. He said he could not rule out the possibility that he might be forced to engage in pickpocketing in the future, however, particularly if he remained unable to find work.

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20 In Section 4.5 it is noted that quotations have not been changed in any way, and represent the precise words used by the interpreter (or the respondent in the nine cases where informants spoke English during the interview). It must be borne in mind that the several of the interpreters were university students, and as a result their translations sometimes appear to be phrased in more 'academic' or 'technical' language (e.g. 'peer group') than one would expect from non-university informants.

Housebreaking and car theft were the other forms of criminal activity frequently referred to as options for young men. Again each respondent expressed disapproval of this course of action. M3 had served a prison sentence for housebreaking. On his release, urged by his teacher brother, he had reformed and returned to school. He was the first of the three subjects who reported spending time in prison. All commented that it had been an extremely negative experience. The second, M15, said he had been falsely accused of car radio theft. A friend had given him a stolen radio, which the police had found in his outside room on his parents' property. The third, M20, said he had been falsely accused of car theft after being offered a lift home from the beach by two acquaintances. The two acquaintances took flight when the police stopped the car. M20 who was innocent had not had any reason to flee, but had been arrested and accused of car theft.

In the two latter cases the young men had been kept in jail for some months. Charges were dropped against M15, and he was released. M20 was found guilty of car theft at a subsequent court case, but on account of the long period he had spent in jail awaiting trial, and his plea that he was a scholar who wished to return to school, the magistrate had given him a suspended sentence. (In fact he did not succeed in finding a place in either a township or a rural school after his release, despite numerous attempts by himself and his parents.)

M18 was the only subject who spoke freely of his involvement in theft, saying he sometimes took part in stealing cars, as well as theft from large supermarket chains. He said he regretted his involvement in car theft, which was 'forced' on him by his friends. He regarded crime as an acceptable option under certain circumstances however. For example he considered theft from supermarket chains as a form of redistribution of wealth from rich whites to poor blacks.

> "To be a tsotsi is something I dislike - because it means you are involved in something that is against the will of the people ... but I make a great division between stealing from somebody like a white person who has all the money they need compared to a township person who will never have that money again ... A 'tsotsi' is someone who steals from his own community ... The only white person who you should not steal from is someone who is involved in the struggle." (M18)

ii) Peoples' Courts

Much comment was devoted to community participation in preventing crime and punishing criminals through the medium of the Peoples' Courts. These informal courts were initiated by groups of community conscious youth (generally under the auspices of the comrades) in response to the failure of the police to deal with the high township crime rates.

> "(What duties do the comrades have to the community?) The comrades should act as a police force and watch every wrong and right thing going on in the location, and discipline those who misbehave." (M10)

The courts had a political dimension. Crime was seen as a major source of community division and demoralisation. Crime prevention was thus regarded as an aspect of the task of strengthening the township community and building its morale. In addition, the comrades regarded the Peoples' Courts as an important precursor of a new and more democratic social order. They served as 'organisations of peoples' power within the townships', run along democratic lines and directly accountable to the members of the community. Promoting the courts was seen as one of the duties of the comrades. The courts concerned themselves with the punishment of general offenders in the community (such as rapists or pickpockets) as well as other comrades who did not tow the line (ranging from serious offences like 'selling out' to the police, to less serious offences such as being drunk and disorderly).

The courts operated in the following manner: groups of young men would hang around railway stations or locations where the crime rate was high, watching out for incidents. In this regard they aimed to fulfil a preventative function, helping in the protection of ordinary citizens. They also served as a crime detection network. Criminals caught in the act of pickpocketing would be apprehended, and immediately tried before a informally constituted on-the-spot court, attended by these anti-crime youth as well as anyone else who happened to be present.

The comrades emphasised the following principles in disciplining community offenders: the offenders should be given a fair hearing by organised youth structures, and discipline should never be administered by individuals but always in consultation with other community members. No comrade had the right to inflict punishment, or to make decisions regarding punishment, as an individual. All comrades activities should be the result of group consultation and discussion. One respondent commented that in matters such as burning or killing for revenge it was important to ensure that innocent victims did not get hurt. All care should be taken to punish only the targetted person,

and to do as little damage as possible to anyone else. M13 commented that punishments should always be conducted in a disciplined way, describing those comrades who did not exercise discipline in the courts as "disgusting people who ruin our comrades image" (M13). Violation of these codes resulted in expulsion from the comrades group, or in corporal punishment of offender by other group members.

M4 commented that while he disapproved of common criminals and believed they should be punished severely, he had sympathy for political crimes such as the killing of state spies or members of rival political groups. He believed such killings were inevitable under the currently oppressive political conditions, and that their perpetrators should be punished more leniently than common criminals.

iii) Nature of Peoples' Courts punishments

Through the medium of the Peoples' Courts, comrades dealt with disciplinary action for a wide range of offenses. They generally stopped short of crimes involving murder however, handing murderers over to the police. M6 mentioned the case of a comrade who stabbed his girlfriend to death with a knife after accusing her of "selling him out" (revealing his political secrets) to a rival political gang. M6's youth group had decided to hand him over to the police rather than punish him themselves for this crime.

During a Peoples' Court case, witnesses would be called to testify to the crime, after which the criminal would be given a chance to defend himself or herself. Thereafter the crowd would decide on a suitable punishment for the criminal, almost invariably lashes with a *sjambok* (quirt). The crowd would decide on a suitable number of lashes for the offence, and people would be elected to administer the punishment, usually a number of people elected to administer one stroke each. The rationale for this strategy was that if the punishment was delivered collectively there was less chance that the offender would develop a grudge against the punisher. Offenders were expected to accept the Peoples' judgement that they had done wrong with good grace. Those who 'held grudges' would be liable for further punishment. Other forms of punishment included community service (e.g. cleaning up litter in a particular road) for less serious offences, and 'modelling' for more serious offences. 'Modelling' referred to the practice of forcing the offender to parade naked through the township, followed by a jeering and spitting crowd.

Comrades also sometimes punished each other with 'strokes' or 'lashes' for misbehaviour. These strokes were often administered by the friends of the offenders.

One respondent referred to a time when he had been involved in giving his friend lashes after his friend had lost an important video cassette.

> "Four of us were present, and we all gave him lashes, two each. (Did you hit him hard?) Yes. If you don't give someone a proper lash, you are not showing him how to beat someone. And if you have never had experience in beating someone, how will you ever know how to punish your own children in the future?" (M6)

Four subjects mentioned that it was important not only to punish offenders in a retributive way, but also to try to rehabilitate them by encouraging them to join the comrades, where they could use their energies in the service of the community.

> "I spend a lot of my time with the tsotsis in our area trying to persuade them to stop doing pickpocketing and housebreaking. Its better that they should get involved in those crimes done by the comrades in the name of the struggle - like attacking police informers, or assisting whenever a friend is being attacked by Inkatha members." (M4)

iv) Gendered nature of Peoples' Courts

Like crime, punishment was almost always seen as a male preserve. There were some references to women attending the courts, and being elected to administer punishments, particularly in cases where an accused man might be guilty of an offence involving the abuse of women, or conflicts over infidelity. However the general opinion was that women were too sensitive to administer punishments properly. F20 who had taken part in disciplinary court hearings, said that she usually sneaked out just before members of the crowd were elected to deliver punishments.

> "When we are going to punish someone I usually arrive at the time that the questioning of the offender is happening. When they are about to issue the punishment I leave that place as if I am going to the toilet. (Why do you do this?) I am scared to hit a person. (Why is this?) I am just scared to do it - even more so if the person you are going to hit is older than you." (F20)

One of the politically uninvolved and uninterested subjects had also been involved in hearings and punishments admininstered by comrades. (F11). However she said that as a woman, while she participated in the punishments, she took her place near the back of the stone-throwing grouping rather than the forefront, which she saw as the males' preserve. Here she referred to the Peoples' Court practice of parading offenders through the township ('modelling'), where they might be stoned by jeering crowds.

> "Such things in the township are done by boys. Girls just usually follow them. (What do you mean by this?) For example if the boys are following after someone who has been stealing, the girls will follow the boys and throw stones, but the boys will lead the procession. (Why is this?) This is because girls are afraid, and boys are bold. (What causes this difference?) This difference is just in

> the nature of boys and girls. (Is this because boys are given greater freedom by their families to be out and about?) No boys are not given greater freedom - they are not allowed to do such things by their families - but they just do them. (Why don't girls do them too?) Because girls have that feeling that certain things are not nice things to do - compared to boys who just don't care." (F11)

There was also some evidence for a gender bias in punishment. M18 recounted an anecdote of a drunk woman shouting at her boyfriend who was sitting near the coffin of his dead brother. Her behaviour was considered a sign of gross and unforgivable disrespect, and the shocked comrades in her area tried her at the Peoples' Court. She was given a warning rather than lashes because she was a woman.

v) Attitudes to Peoples' Courts

Attitudes to these courts were mixed. Most comrade respondents felt that the courts were a successful and important tool of community cohesion and safety, playing a key role in reducing crime. Many young men cited fear of Peoples' Court trials as one of the reasons why they would not engage in crime. There was some debate concerning the severity of punishments, however. Even some of the most enthusiastic supporters commenting that punishments were sometimes too severe, with offenders sometimes being sentenced to as many as 100 strokes. M1, for example, commented that a maximum of 20 strokes rather than 100 was a reasonable punishment for a crime such as stabbing.

Predictably the courts were vehemently criticised by others, often by informants who had been punished by the courts, or had family members who had been punished. M15 claimed he had been wrongly accused of a crime he had not committed. The case arose after his political activist sister, who had spent a number of short periods in jail as a political detainee, fell in love with a policeman during one of her periods of incarceration. On her release the couple were forced to go into hiding in Johannesburg (six hours' drive away) after her angry former comrades threatened to kill them both. Shortly after their departure the comrades had arrived at the house and accused M15 of being a police informer. He had been sentenced to 'modelling', and pursued by a crowd who had lashed at him with *sjamboks*. At the time of the interview he still had an intricate maze of deep scars across his back. He revealed these to the interviewers with anger and bitterness. His false accusation and punishment had led to a bitter fight when he and a group of supporters confronted his punishers, demanding the return of his watch which he said they had stolen in the 'modelling' scuffle. He reported that in the ensuing fight a 13-year-old neighbour's son was shot at the base of his spine and is

now unable to walk, while a second youth was killed.

This same respondent (M15) said that much as he abhorred the comrades methods of operating he was often forced to take part in these punishments himself.

> "There is a boy who was accused of stealing a radio in our area. We were called by the comrades to go and look for him. When we arrived at his house we were instructed to beat him, without any question at all. He narrowly escaped us and ran for his life, so we could not find him. They rounded us up from the Z Shabeen, that's where the comrades pick up all us boys because they know that we all hang around there. Each boy is given a sjambok to carry, or a brick, and there is a marshall that controls the group as it moves towards the target. All in the shabeen have to go with. If you ask any question you are asked in a menacing and frightening way if you are an *impimpi* (police spy), so you just keep quiet and go along." (M15)

However both M20 and M17 who had both been tried by the courts were satisfied that they had been treated fairly.

> "Once I got involved in a fight in a shabeen over a girl. I bought wine for this girl and then she left me and went for another boy. A fight developed. Later the comrades called me and asked what had happened. I told them that I had bought wine for her and that if she had needed something I would still have bought it for her. I won the case with the comrades .... I was found not guilty." (M17)

M20 had been called before a group of angry comrades after he had insulted an old man. He was saved by his shrewd mother who had come to his defence with a clever speech (regarding the possible ambiguity of the insulting term he had used). He also felt he had been treated fairly by the courts.

Many subjects, particularly the comrades in the sample, referred disapprovingly to gangs of young men referred to as 'comtsotsi's'. These were defined as young men who posed as comrades, but in reality were simply gangsters. Operating under the comrades label, they served to give the comrades an unjustifiably bad name amongst certain sectors of the community.

> "A comrade is supposed to be someone who is clean, a gentleman, someone protective and someone who helps others at all times ... ... our parents see the comtsotsis and then say that it is a bad thing to be a comrade ... the comtsotsis want to spoil our name, or give us a bad image because they are not really comrades like us. They use us comrades as a jungle where they can hide ... they don't want freedom, but are just criminals." (M10)

vi) Carrying weapons

Twelve boys referred to the option of carrying knives for protection. The dangerous nature of township life made this a tempting possibility with high crime rates, the possibility of attacks by rival political groupings, and the existence of gun or knife-toting desperadoes that often frequented shabeens and gambling games. Nine of these 12 young men said they would not consider carrying a knife under any circumstances. Three said they would do so under exceptional circumstances. M18 said he carried a knife at political meetings, where the combined danger of attacks by Inkatha and/or the police made such gatherings extremely dangerous. M9 said it was necessary to carry a knife when visiting certain particularly violent and dangerous areas such as Pietermaritzburg. M4 said that he carried a knife for self-defence when moving around the township at night.

The carrying of knives was forbidden by the comrades. Punishments for those who broke this rule were severe. Groupings of comrades often searched young men on the weekends for knives. Those found to be breaking this rule would be "beaten severely".

> "We have a (comrades) committee in our area that forbids the carrying of knives ... if we find out that you have got a knife we will tie you to a tree and then you will get beaten up." (M10)

The carrying of knives in shabeens was prevented by shabeen owners who usually searched prospective drinkers for knives before letting them enter.

Three boys said they did not carry knives because they feared that once a person lost his temper he was incapable of controlling violent impulses. Having a knife at hand might lead him to harm someone in a fit of uncontrollable anger.

> "If you are a black person you should not carry a knife or a weapon in the street ... one day you might get into a misunderstanding, and this situation may drive you to do some damage, even destroy or kill someone by mistake in anger." (M6)

Two informants referred to the option of carrying a stick rather than a knife for self-defence. The first of these said that those who carried sticks risked the danger of being mistaken for members of Inkatha vigilante groups (bands of men carrying traditional weapons such as sticks and shields, and enemies of the comrades) and perhaps being attacked by comrades for this reason. However the second subject said that the comrades in his area encouraged young men to carry sticks as an alternative to knives. This was seen as the least harmful form of protection for a young man.

> "In our area in section (of the township) we have a policy that you should carry a stick rather than a knife. A committee was formed after bad things had been taking place - stabbing, pickpocketing and so on. I joined this committee because I was so happy when I heard them saying: 'Down with the knife and up with the stick'." (M10)

vii) Threats to personal safety

Two women (F1 and F10) had had direct death threats made to them as individuals.

F1, who lived in a street populated mostly by comrades, had fallen in love with a boy from an Inkatha-linked gang. As a result she had received death threats from the comrades, and had been forced to go into hiding in another area:

> "The situation is so bad that I can't even bear to think about it. My mother arranged for me to hide at a relative's house in another area. The comrades have said they will kill me, and I am continually frightened because I do not know where they are. I miss my family enormously and cannot go to their house - I meet them in the city. When I visit my boyfriend I have to go in a private car because it is too unsafe to take public transport. (Have you thought of ending this relationship?) No I would not do that. I am in love, and I must take this risk." (F1)

At the time of the interviews F10, her elderly parents and her siblings were in hiding in another area after her brother had murdered the family member of a neighbour.

> "We fear that the neighbours will burn our house and kill us all. We have to find a new home. We can never return to the old one. I cannot return to the same school either. The enemies have been there asking for me and saying they want to kill me because of what my brother did." (F10)

Ten other young women referred to more general situations where they or their families had felt that their safety was in danger. In addition to F10 above, four subjects said they lived in fear for the safety of family members. F13 said her family was continually harrassed by comrades, because enemies of her brother "had told the comrades lies about the family". F6's father had been killed by tsotsis after he had been accused of being a police informer when he sought police protection for his liquor business after a number of robberies. F20 (herself a comrade) said her brother had once been severely beaten up by the comrades after a disciplinary court hearing. She said that her family lived in constant fear of attacks from Inkatha vigilantes who were unhappy about their comrades political allegiance:

> "I find it difficult to sleep at night. I lie awake and wait for the vigilante attacks." (F20)

F3 alluded to the commonplace nature of death and injury in township life when she commented that one of the things that made her most proud of her family was that "none of us have been killed or deformed in any kind of conflict". She added that one of her brothers had in fact been stabbed in a political conflict but had not suffered any permanent injury.

Four girls referred to fear of attack by drunks. F11 said that she spent Sundays in church because she did not feel safe in the streets. She said her sister had been beaten up in a random attack by unknown drunks who had broken her leg in the attack. F5 commented that boyfriends were useful to a young woman because it was their job to fight for their girlfriends if they were attacked by drunks. She said that she did not like discotheques because there was always a danger that her own boyfriend would get drunk and be unable to defend her if she was in danger. F2 commented that she generally avoided shabeens because of the danger of being attacked by drunk women.

Twelve boys referred to living in fear for their personal safety. They referred to three broad types of threat. The first was fear of common criminals in the community. The second group of fears related to the risky nature of drinking in shabeens and of gambling. The third type of danger referred to attacks by political opponents.

Stabbings and shootings were common occurrences in shabeens.

> "I generally try and leave a shabeen before 8pm, because killing, insulting and stabbings happen there many times. But sometimes the next morning we might find a dead body on the street, and find out that the conflict began in a shabeen." (M10)

M20 for example had been shot in the foot in a shabeen brawl, which he said had started when a fellow drinker had become angry with him for inadvertently blocking the doorway as the drinker was trying to leave. Gambling was also said to be an extremely dangerous pastime. Gamblers had to be on the continual alert for the comrades (who punished gamblers in the Peoples' Courts) and the police (who arrested gamblers). Thus gamblers commented that they often chose to play 'in the bushes' out of sight of the community, or else to hide away in innocent looking places (such as the corners of sports fields) where they could proceed undetected. However far more dangerous than the police or the comrades were fellow gamblers, often penniless and unemployed, who would think nothing of pulling out a knife and stabbing their opponents when they lost too much money.

The third type of danger referred to by male comrade respondents was the danger of physical assault by political opponents, particularly Inkatha and the police (thirteen of the 20 young men in the sample referred to themselves as comrades, see Section 6.18). M18 had been held by the police for two days and severely beaten up because he was suspected of having set alight a taxi in a situation of violent political conflict. M10 had also been detained and beaten up by the police because he was suspected of having hijacked a bread van whose driver had failed to heed a comrades' work stayaway call. M13 had been held in police detention without trial for ten months during which time he was severely tortured in a variety of ways, including being questioned with a wet sack-cloth bag over his head and having electric shocks applied to his genitals. At the time of the interviews he was in hiding away from his home, for fear of suspected police hit squads that specialised in killing political activists. The danger of Inkatha or police attacks on comrades was considered to be particularly severe at political meetings. M19 had been one of the mourners at the Umlazi cinema meeting to commemorate the death of Victoria Mxenge (an incident discussed in Appendix A.1) and said he had narrowly escaped being stabbed by an Inkatha vigilante. M20 had been part of a crowd that was fired on by the police at a May Day gathering at Curries' Fountain stadium, but had escaped without injury. M4 had been part of a group of boycotting scholars that had been attacked by Inkatha vigilantes. M10 had been attacked by Inkatha members who had tried to kill him with long-bladed knives (see Section 6.2).

viii) Group memberships associated with this challenge.

The most frequently cited group membership associated with this challenge was the COMRADES. It was the COMRADES grouping that was centrally involved with the alternative 'policing' of the community through their strict anti-crime attitudes and crime prevention activities. Fear of the COMRADES was often cited as one of the reasons why informants chose not to involve themselves in criminal activities or the carrying of knives. COMRADES vehemently distinguished themselves from the grouping known as the COMTSOTSIS, groupings of young criminals who called themselves COMRADES, but merely used conditions of political unrest and conflict as a cover for looting, stealing and misbehaving.

Although only two women were actively involved in comrades activities (see Section 6.18), COMRADES membership was cited in relation to a number of female responses on this challenge (see Part B above). While only two women were actively involved in this way, three other women said they would call themselves COMRADES despite

their lack of active involvement with the group, and all five approved of the Peoples' Courts. Furthermore a sixth girl (F11) who described herself as politically neutral spoke highly of the Courts, and the role they played in the community. These six women frequently cited COMRADES membership as influencing their choice of behavioural options on this challenge. Furthermore even young women who were not personally associated with the grouping cited it in relation to options on this challenge.

The group membership of DECENT CITIZEN, with its connotations of respectability (see Section 7.4, opposition to alcohol and violence, and upward mobility away from the squalor and disadvantage of township life, was frequently cited for the decision not to become involved in violent behaviour. The MISCELLANEOUS category, which was high for male respondents, was boosted by the categorisation of MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY, as well as the categories of DRINKER and GAMBLER, the latter's activities being frequently associated with crime and violence.

Summary

The task of formulating a code of conduct regarding crime involved the options of participation in comrades' crime prevention activities, involvement in the Peoples' Courts procedures for punishing of criminals, and personal involvement in criminal activities. This challenge commanded significantly more attention from young men than from young women. The groupings of COMRADES and DECENT CITIZEN were most frequently associated with this challenge by men and women.

6.2 Adaptative challenge 2
Code of conduct: political conflict

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

Because of the low number of female responses devoted to this challenge, specific challenges that were mentioned by two or more (rather than four or more) respondents were included in this category. This was done in order to examine the different preoccupations of women and men in relation to political conflict. The same was done for male responses to ensure comparability. Given the political situation at the time of the interviews, the likelihood of subjects volunteering information regarding personal involvement in violent political 'action' was small and the interview material probably

under-represented the involvement of young persons in these activities (see Section 4.7).

FEMALES

1. *To regard negotiating as a better solution to 'political' conflict than fighting* (Y=4)
a) To participate in public violence due to political dissatisfaction (N=4)
b) Black against white conflict: to regard negotiation as the best means of conflict resolution (Y=3)
c) Black against black conflict: to disapprove of black on black violence in the community (Y=3)
d) To approve of non-violent strikes as means of protesting against low wages (Y=3)

2. *To take part in school boycotts* (Y=2,N=1,Unclear - spoke in general about this option but did not make their personal position clear=4)

MALES

1. *To regard negotiating as a better solution to 'political' conflict than fighting* (Y=2,N=2)

2. To participate in physical conflict ('action') against comrades' opponents
a) To participate in action against Inkatha (Y=8,N=2)
b) To participate in action against non-participants in work stayaways (Y=3,N=1)
c) To burn enemies' property (Y=3, N=1)
d) To participate in action against spies (Y=1, N=2)
e) To join the armed (guerilla) struggle against the white government. (N=3)
f) To participate in action against the police (Y=2)

3. Political action by scholars
a) To take part in school boycotts (Y=5, N=1, No but forced=5)
b) To burn and stone school property (Y=1, N=2)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Males devoted significantly more responses to political conflict than females (See Figure 6.1). In the few references girls made to political conflict, they tended to express preference for non-violent negotiation as a solution to political conflict. Those men who referred to this challenge tended to regard violent confrontation with opponents as a more viable option than their female counterparts. There was evidence for greater participation in a range of violent political confrontations by men than women, whose only involvement in such activities was participation in school boycotts.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=39); Educated/scholar 17 (44%)

Males: (n=175); Comrades 89 (51%); Educated/scholar 32 (18%); Miscellaneous* 20 (11%); Decent citizen 13.

* The most important self-categorisation in the MISCELLANEOUS category was MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included all responses relating to political conflict. These ranged from immediate involvement in the conflict to more distal involvement through the self-categorisation of black person.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

In Appendix A.1 the range of political divisions within the township community, and divisions between township groupings and other groupings in wider South African society, is discussed. In addition, the central role played by youth in the anti-apartheid struggle, in particular by young men, is noted. In the general political climate of violent confrontation between a variety of political groups, an important adaptative challenge for youth was the need to develop a code of conduct towards one's political enemies.

Elaboration of the challenge, and gendered differences in its interpretation

A significantly larger proportion of responses were devoted to this challenge by boys than girls (see Figure 6.1). There were also gendered differences in the interpretation of this challenge. These differences had four characteristics, which are discussed in turn.

i) Preference for violence as a behavioural option

Boys often spoke in favour of violence as a preferred option for dealing with political conflict; women did not.

> "Inkatha's main aim is to kill us all. We must eliminate them in return. This is the only way to deal with killers." (M8)

While women did refer to violence as a behavioural possibility, they were unanimous in its rejection, and in their preference for non-violent negotiation of differences.

ii) Personal involvement in acts of violence

Young men referred to personal involvement in direct physical conflict with opponents. Women did not.

> "We only succeeded in burning down their houses - but our enemies managed to get away." (M19)

Women spoke about violence in a more vague and indirect way. While they did refer to violence as an option for resolving conflicts, they were unanimous in their disapproval of it, and their preference for non-violent means of conflict resolution. On no occasion did they refer to any personal involvement in acts of physical violence in relation to this challenge.

iii) Range of political enemies

Young men referred directly to a range of political foes: the police, Inkatha, community members who refused to take part in work stayaways, police spies and the white government. In contrast, women were vague and unspecific in speaking of political conflict, tending to refer more vaguely to 'conflict with the whites' or 'black on black' violence.

iv) Conceptualisation of political resistance

On the few occasions when women did express support for involvement in political conflict, it was in relation to protests around concrete bread-and-butter issues (low wages at work and inferior schooling). Males on the other hand tended to conceptualise political resistance in relation to enmity between in-groups and out-groups. They tended to couch their accounts of political resistance in terms of inter-group conflict rather more than the women did (comrades vs 'boer puppets'/spies; comrades vs Inkatha).

Furthermore, women tended to contextualise the violence within the broader context of peoples' lives, compared to the males who tended to refer to it in a comparatively incident-specific, reactive context.

> "I cannot see the point of destroying property that people have worked for - the houses they have worked to make nice." (F4)

Among particular male responses to this challenge, Inkatha was the most frequently cited enemy, by eight men in all. Two of these referred to the futility of the battles between the comrades and Inkatha, arguing that it only served to further disunite black people at a time when they should be "uniting against the main enemy that is apartheid" (M8), but for the others, violence was the only course of action open to them in revenge for Inkatha's continued attacks on the comrades.

> "There is no point in negotiating with Inkatha. Negotiations will never succeed." (M6)

The theme of revenge was one that recurred frequently in mens responses to this challenge. On no occasion did an informant speak of initiating violence against an enemy without provocation. Informants always couched accounts of their personal involvement in violence in terms of defensive counter-violence. In this context violence was cited as an inevitable response, and in fact the only action available to youth against their range of political enemies.

Thus, for example, six men said violence was the only way to deal with Inkatha in retaliation for Inkatha attacks on comrades' homes and the killing of comrades by Inkatha members. In their accounts of the violence Inkatha was always portrayed as the aggressor, or the initiator of violence:

> "Revenge is the appropriate response to the crimes that they have committed against us." (M10)

The home of one of the informants (M19) had been burned to the ground in an attack by Inkatha on MDM/ANC supporters in the community. In return he and a furious group of comrades had burned down the houses of their enemies on the next evening. At the time of the interviews, M10 was actively planning a revenge killing against some Inkatha youth who had tried to kill him. He saw this as his inevitable course of action according to his 'eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth' philosophy. He told his story thus:

> "They (the Inkatha youth) saw the way I was dressed in comrades clothing - takkies and jockey vest and jeans. I was about to cross a river, and these three people just walked past and looked at me. However as I crossed the river they turned and followed me. I was looking forward and did not see them - but suddenly I notices three aunties on the other side of the river gaping at me, and saw one of them screaming and running away. This made me wonder what was going on, and I looked behind me and saw them coming at me, drawing big knives. I realised that I must run. I left one of my takkies behind, and that is how I saved my life ... Now I want to revenge them ... I will get them one by one when they are away from their home areas ... (Are you not frightened to do this?) They were not frightened to kill me - so I am not frightened to get my revenge." (M10)

In accounts of violence against the police, the police were always portrayed as the aggressors. M18 spoke of violence as the only possible way to "destroy the power of the system" in outlining his involvement in the "barricading" or "ambushing" of police cars. Police cars would be lured into cul-de-sacs, and then attacked, and if possible burned.

M10 also spoke of the burning of police cars as the key method available to township youth for *"getting at those Boer puppets"*:

> "My close friend was killed by the boer police. He was involved in burning a police car, and the police ran away. But later the police hijacked someone's car and came back and shot my friend. I learned from this that all the people in the struggle will die young. but I also learned that the police too are vulnerable - on that day they narrowly escaped death themselves. These people come to our areas and kill us - and we must kill them too - I see that we must make it a point that we kill many of them." (M10)

For the more politically conscious young men violence was seen as an inevitable and extremely successful feature of political struggle. For young people who had been denied access to any form of peaceful political representation violence was considered the only available option in the fight for political change.

A second theme that emerged frequently in the responses of men was the theme of coercion, with some young men saying they had been forced to take part in acts of violence under threat of attack by others. Five said they had taken part in school boycotts against their will and under pressure from other scholars. Each of these young men said they supported the goals of the boycotting student organisations, and that they agreed that scholars had serious grievances. They disapproved of boycotts however because they inevitably became violent, with stones being thrown, and school buildings being burned down. They also worried about the fact that prolonged boycotts, especially around exam time, had sometimes made it necessary for scholars to repeat whole years of schooling.

> "Children get involved in boycotts which cost them months, or even years of schooling. This will eventually result in us being an uneducated society, while other races go forward. When they boycott, these children burn and destroy the very schools that are meant to be helping them. That is not a good way of complaining that you want something done correctly ... I do not like getting involved in strikes which are so destructive, but there is no way to voice your personal opinion. Once you resist joining the strike, you simply get beaten by the other school children." (M14)

M6 commented that he had been forced to take part in comrades' attacks on community members who refused to heed calls for work stayaways, apprehending the workers either on their way to or from work. He clearly felt uneasy about this involvement, and said that he acted against his will on such occasions:

> "You are forced to take part in these activities. If you do not do so, the comrades accuse you of being a spy. I do not like this - I think we should be more understanding of the situation of these workers. Most of all I do not like the idea of beating other black people." (M6)

Group memberships

The group membership of EDUCATED was most frequently associated with responses to this challenge by young women, reflecting their tendency not to become involved in political conflict. Only in school were they unavoidably confronted with the option of involvement in political conflict through the medium of school boycotts. In school there was great pressure on them to become involved in political action, generally under the influence of more politicised fellow scholars.

For men on the other hand, involvement in political conflict with a range of political opponents (e.g. Inkatha, the police and so on) was more frequently considered, most often in terms of their COMRADES membership. Their EDUCATED group membership (and its association with school boycotts) took second place. Heavily represented in the third most frequently cited MISCELLANEOUS category was the self-categorisation of MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY.

Summary

In distinguishing male and female responses to this challenge, the section has highlighted four themes: (i) male preference of violence as a mechanism to resolve conflict as opposed to female preference for negotiation; (ii) a greater personal involvement in violence by young men than women; (iii) the broader range of political enemies mentioned by young men than young women and (iv) the difference in conceptualisation of political resistance, with men focussing more on inter-group conflict, and women focussing more on concrete bread-and-butter issues such as housing and wages. With school boycotts being virtually the only area of girls' involvement in political conflict, the sparse female responses to this challenge were determined predominantly by their EDUCATED membership. Young men's involvement in a broader range of conflicts was predominantly determined by their COMRADES membership.

6.3 Adaptative challenge 3

Code of conduct: interpersonal conflict

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Conflict with peers*
a) *To try and solve conflicts peacefully, avoiding shouting or physical fighting* (Y=9)

2. *Conflict with lovers*
a) To tolerate being beaten (Y=6, N=1, unclear=1)
b) To scold and withdraw when angry (Y=7)

3. *Conflict in the family*
a) *To talk rather than fight and shout* (Y=3,N=2)

MALES

1. *Conflict with peers*
a) *To solve conflicts with peers through talking rather than through physical fighting* (Y=6,N=8)

2. *Conflict in the family*
a) To beat siblings in need of discipline (Y=9)
b) *To talk peacefully with parents rather than shouting* (Y=5)

3. *Conflict with lovers*

a) To beat an erring girlfriend (Y=3,N=4)

4. Conflict with sexual rivals
a) To stab sexual rivals (Y=5)

5. Conflict in shabeens
a) To get involved in shabeen fighting (Y=4)

6. Gambling conflict
a) To get involved in physical fights over gambling (Y=4)

7. General options for resolving interpersonal conflict (based on vague comments about solving interpersonal conflict in general):
a) To stab (Y=1,N=5)
b) To fight (N=5)
c) To talk things through and apologise for making others angry (Y=4)
d) To fight in public (N=3)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

There was no significant difference in the proportion of responses devoted to this challenge by men and women (see Figure 6.1). With regard to their interpretation of the challenge, both males and females referred to interpersonal conflicts with family members, peers and lovers. Males referred to three further sources of interpersonal conflict: sexual rivals, fellow drinkers in shabeens, and fellow gamblers. Compared to boys, girls invariably preferred non-violent resolution of inter-personal conflicts. Boys showed a marked preference for the violent solution of interpersonal disagreements, particularly in relation to conflicts with peers and siblings.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=81); Lovers 42 (52%); Family 16 (20%).

Males: (n=154); Family 33 (21%); Miscellaneous 23 (15%); Decent citizen 21 (14%); Friends 21 (14%); Lovers 20 (13%); Comrades 13.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This category referred to behavioural guidelines for dealing with conflicts in interpersonal relationships and one-to-one social interactions.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

Conflicts classified within this challenge referred to everyday interpersonal interactions, usually with individuals well-known to the informants such as family members, lovers, and peers, but sometimes with more distant acquaintances in shabeens or gambling groups.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

The most pronounced differences in male and female interpretations of this challenge related to i) the range of interpersonal conflicts mentioned by males and females, ii) the preferred means of conflict resolution (violence as opposed to non-violence) and iii) the issue of conflict resolution between lovers.

i) The range of interpersonal conflicts mentioned by male and female informants

Although the proportion of responses devoted by male and female respondents to this challenge was not statistically significant, boys referred to a wider range of interpersonal conflict situations than did girls. Females only spoke of conflicts with lovers, peers and family. In addition to these three sources of conflict, males also referred to conflicts with sexual rivals and involvement in shabeen and gambling brawls. Young men cited fights over money as a frequent source of conflict with peers, often when borrowed money was not repaid quickly enough. Physical fighting with peers took various forms including hitting with fists, knife-fighting and throwing bricks at each other.

Five boys referred to being involved in fights over women. A young man's ability to keep a woman's attention despite competition from rivals was a sorely guarded point of honour. A spurned lover might choose to relieve his humiliation by publically stabbing his rival. For example, M18 said that because he was a poor man from a poor family, a rich rival had succeeded in luring his girlfriend away by "buying her nice things". Having been "made to look a fool" in front of his friends, he stabbed his rival in a fit of anger. M17 referred to an incident where he had spent all his money buying drinks for an attractive woman in a shabeen. When he ran out of money she accepted drinks from another man. This made him very angry, and he attacked his rival with a knife.

ii) The means of conflict resolution (talking or violence)

For young women talking calmly was the most commonly mentioned behavioural option for conflict. When speaking of interpersonal conflict resolution in general terms, male respondents expressed disapproval of violence, such as physical fighting and stabbing. However when referring to particular cases of conflict, except in the case of conflict with parents (where talking calmly was the preferred method), violence was frequently referred to as a behavioural option. This use of violence was mentioned in relation to conflict with siblings, peers, shabeen and gambling acquaintances, girlfriends and sexual rivals.

iii) Conflict resolution between lovers:

There was a marked gender difference in regard to the resolution of conflict between lovers. Seven boys referred to the option of beating girlfriends, although four said they would not do this themselves. There was no reference by girls to the option of beating their boyfriends, but eight referred to the possibility of being beaten by their boyfriends. There was no reference by male informants to being beaten by their girlfriends. Thus amongst those that referred to this option, the beating was invariably practiced by men on women.

Young women said they became angry with their boyfriends if they neglected to telephone them or visit them enough, if they drank too much or if they had other girlfriends. Some said they punished their boyfriends by scolding or withdrawing and refusing to talk to them for a while. Young men said they became angry with their girlfriends if they were disobedient (generally relating to restrictions around *freedom of* association and movement - see Challenge 4 for discussion of this point).

Six young women accepted being beaten by their boyfriends as part of a woman's lot:

> "When he is angry he hits me everywhere, all over, with his hands, then I must not say anything because I know that I am wrong. (Has he ever hurt you?) Yes he has. (?)[21] I broke my leg running away from him. (Does your father hit your mother?) Yes when she does something wrong - like going away without his permission. (Do you think it is appropriate for me to hit women?) Yes. It is like

21 Every effort was made, using shorthand, to make a verbatim transcript of the researcher's questions and the (usually translated) responses, as well as brief notes recording when informants e.g. laughed or looked sad. This involved a fair degree of concentration and speed, so that in certain instances where the probing questions were considered too unspecific to merit writing down, the symbol (?) was used for abbreviation. The use of (?) indicates the use of unspecific queries by the interviewer, such as "Can you say more about that?" or "What do you mean?" or "Why do you say that?"

> this because men are the head of their families, the people who know what they want from their families." (F8)

One person said she would not tolerate a boyfriend hitting her:

> "I left my last boyfriend because he was hitting me ... I would leave him (my present boyfriend) if he did - he has no right to do so. After all I am not his wife." (F13)

Two girls said they had been lucky to find boyfriends who did not hit them. However one of these emphasised that it was a woman's lot to accept whatever treatment she received at a man's hands. She spoke critically of "those educated women" who simply walked out on unsatisfactory husbands who beat them or failed to support them:

> "Some women who are educated do not listen to their husbands, neither do they back down in arguments because they have education. Sometimes I could say that I hate these educated women that just go and get divorced. A woman must not divorce her husband. If he drinks or fails to support her she must just stay there with him and look after herself and her children. There is no point in leaving. (?) If she leaves she will just find another man exactly like her husband. And what then? Will she just leave him too?" (F9)

Group memberships

Female involvement in interpersonal conflict was associated most frequently with the LOVERS group membership. This was in line with the general pattern throughout the data which suggested that women were significantly more preoccupied with the issue of sexual relationships than their male counterparents (e.g. Both the CODE OF CONDUCT: SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR and NETWORKING: CHOOSING LOVERS challenges were associated with a significantly larger number of female than male responses. The group membership of LOVERS determined significantly more female than male responses on both the CODE OF CONDUCT and the NETWORKING challenge clusters.)

Interpersonal conflict with girlfriends received less emphasis in the interviews with young men, and LOVERS membership was associated with a smaller proportion of responses. Male responses on this challenge were determined by a wider range of group memberships than female responses, consistent with male involvement in a broader range of conflict situations. The MISCELLANEOUS category for males was dominated by membership of the PHANTSULA grouping, a youth style group for young men, characterised by their tough aggressive image (see Section 6.20 for a detailed discussion of this group membership). Phantsula's were said to be far more likely to become involved in physical fighting with each other than their more peace-loving rival

grouping the Dudes. The Phantsula's were also renowned for their rough approach to their girlfriends, for example.

> "A Phantsula will beat his girlfriend very severely if she misbehaves. Phantsula girls are generally very well disciplined. They know that they should not put a foot wrong." (M15)

Summary

Although the difference in the proportion of responses devoted to this challenge by males and females was not significant, the interpretation of the challenge varied between genders. Firstly the range of interpersonal conflicts mentioned by men was broader than that mentioned by women. Secondly, as in the CODE OF CONDUCT: POLITICAL VIOLENCE challenge, young women generally preferred non-violent conflict resolution as opposed to their male counterparts, for whom violent resolution was a more frequently cited option. This was particularly evident in the area of conflict between lovers, where the option of beating lovers was available to men, but not to women. A wider range of group memberships was associated with this challenge for men than for women.

6.4 Adaptative challenge 4

Code of conduct: freedom of movement

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

MALES

1. *To stay out late at night* (Y=11)
2. To see freedom of movement as a male prerogative (Y=9)
3. To keep family members informed of one's whereabouts (Y=4)
4. To go away for days without saying (Y=4)

FEMALES

1. To go to discotheques, nightclubs or parties at night (Y=2,N=13)
2. *To stay out late at night* (Y=1,N=11)
3. To 'loiter' in the streets (Y=1,N=10)
4. To go out without a boyfriend's permission (Y=1,N=8)
5. To spend most of one's time at home (Y=9)
6. To sleep out overnight with one's boyfriend (Y=5,N=2)
7. To go out without one's family's permission (N=6)
8. To resent restrictions on one's freedom of movement (Y=5)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Girls devoted a significantly greater proportion of their responses to this challenge than boys (See Figure 6.1). Furthermore, they mentioned a broader range of restrictions on their freedom of movement than did young men.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=195); Family 77 (39%); Gender roles 52 (27%); Lovers 42 (22%).

Males: (n=85); Family 27 (32%); Lovers 26 (31%); Gender roles 12 (14%).

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This category refers to spatial and temporal possibilities and constraints on informants' movements away from their family home.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

According to many informants, restrictions on freedom of movement were partly determined by the dangerous conditions on township streets at night. This was the time at which one would be most likely to be attacked by criminals or drunks. Political rivals often used the cover of darkness to carry out their attacks. With regards to criteria for respectability, night time was also the time when young women ought to be 'behind closed doors', the time of shabeens and nightclubs, both considered out of bounds for decent young women. It was also at this time that young women would be most likely to be tempted into sexual liaisons, risking loss of personal reputation and family honour, and pregnancy. Furthermore, as will be discussed in a later section, the ability of men to control women was a key feature of male identity.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

There were significant differences in the amount of attention devoted to this challenge by the two genders. Furthermore there were marked differences in the interpretation of the challenges by males and females. Relative to their female counterparts, male informants were relatively free to come and go as they pleased, although families made token attempts to keep them at home, and preferred them not to come in too late at night.

> "Mother gets very angry when I come home late at night." (M5)

Such worries were generally solely in the interests of their physical safety, rather than their moral protection or reputation as was the case with young women.

> "Mother worries a lot when I go out at night because she fears the tsotsis may attack me." (M11)

However while the men acknowledged their families' attempts to restrict them, they did not take them seriously.

> "I don't tell my family if I am going to be away from home for a few days - because they would try and restrict me." (M1)

> "It's not that boys are 'allowed' to go out as they please. The family does not 'allow' this - it is just that they cannot stop boys from doing as they want." (F11)

Females appeared to be more mindful of the numerous restrictions placed on them, both in terms of the range of places they were allowed to visit, as well as the times they were allowed out of the house. Girls were restricted not only by their parents, but also by boyfriends, brothers and the community. For scholars, a good girl was one that went directly to school in the morning, and returned home directly afterwards. For an unemployed young woman, a good girl was one who spent all her time at home unless she was visiting her girlfriends at their homes or going out on errands for older family members.

> "I am not a hang-around girl. I am always behind my home gates." F2)

> "I am allowed to play only in the yard of my home." (F6)

Freedom of movement was also associated with a time constraint. The limited freedom allowed to women was confined to the daylight hours. One respondent spoke of the stigma attached to being labelled a 'night bird', for example. Young women repeatedly referred to their disapproval of 'girls who loiter in the street'. The streets were clearly

demarcated as the social territory of young men only. Women who spent time in the street were invariably looked down on and regarded as sexually promiscuous. Young men were also concerned to stress the importance of keeping their sisters and girlfriends at home. Nine boys linked freedom of movement to gender, emphasising that while it was acceptable for males to come and go as they pleased, this was not the case for young women.

"Boys move where they want to go." (M18)

"Women should be at home behind closed doors." (M1)

According to boys, girls should not 'loiter' in the streets by day, or leave their homes by night. They should go directly home after school. A range of reasons were offered for these restrictions. Some of these were of a general nature: the community would lose respect for a girl who moved around too freely; girls were physically too weak to protect themselves in the dangerous townships streets; a girl's first priority was to her household duties which required her to be at home most of the time; girls were more *committed* to their families than boys. Some of these reasons related to the controlling of young womens' sexuality. A young woman on the streets might fall into the clutches of a propositioning male and the community might label her as loose, available and a man-chaser, reflecting badly not only on her womanhood but also on her family's dignity. In short such a young woman was "an embarrassment to her family" (M13).

A decent young woman was one who stayed at home, or only moved about under the watchful eye of family or boyfriend. Such a woman stood a better chance of having a 'bright future' and progressing with her schooling or career plans. The folk wisdom was that a virtuous and obedient woman had the greatest chance of attracting a man, and that woman who was seen to be virtuous and obedient had a greater chance of making a good marriage.

Men and women agreed that women should stay at home as much as possible and not go out at night, but there was evidence that some young women did subvert their family's restrictions on their freedom of movement. Six women said openly in the interviews that they did go out without their family's permission. In addition it is likely that other informants also took this behavioural option, but chose not to reveal it in the interviews for fear of creating a bad impression (an understandable choice given the general community disapproval for 'girls that slept out'). Fifteen girls were sexually

active, only 3 with their family's knowledge (see Challenge 6), which means that at least 12 of them managed to evade family 'policing' and find the opportunity to have sexual relationships.

Group memberships

For both genders, the three groupings that determined responses to this challenge were the FAMILY, LOVERS and GENDER, all of which prescribed a range of gendered double standards, allowing men greater freedom of movement than women. Membership of all three groups was associated with constraints on girls' freedom of movement. In those cases where young women chose to ignore prohibitions, they usually said they did so in defiance of these group memberships. There was some ambiguity in the influence of LOVERS in this respect however. On the one hand, boyfriends tended to reinforce traditional FAMILY and GENDER norms that a good woman was one who gave top priority to her home and family, did not move about too much, and "did not have too many friends, since friends tend to confuse a girl" (M7). However, the qualification must be made that young men were only interested in traditional family values insofar as they could enlist the family as an ally in controlling their girlfriends' movements. While young men liked to picture their girlfriends against the background of 'home and hearth' when they were not there to watch them, young women said that their boyfriends exerted great pressure on them to resist their families' attempts to restrict their sexual behaviour.

> "When a young woman does wrong she does so for the sake of her boyfriend. Such behaviour will not be the things she has been taught at home." (F7)

This point will be taken up further in Section 6.6, and in Chapter 8.

Summary

The spatial and temporal freedom of movement of young women is severely restricted compared to that of their male counterparts. This gendered range of behavioural possibilities and constraints is presented by all three of the group memberships of FAMILY, LOVERS and GENDER. There is however some ambiguity in the restrictions placed on young women by their boyfriends (LOVERS), where boyfriends reinforce those FAMILY and GENDER restrictions that suit their desire to control their girlfriends, but encourage young women to defy FAMILY and GENDER restrictions on their sexual activities.

6.5 Adaptative challenge 5

Code of conduct: interpersonal conduct

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *General comments*
a) *To strive for good behaviour at all times* (Y=17)
b) *To respect other people in the community* (Y=13)
c) *To avoid swearing and insulting others* (Y=9)
d) *To avoid gossiping* (Y=8)
e) To try to follow the church's guidelines for behaviour (Y=6)
f) To behave in a poised and well-mannered way (Y=4)

2. *Inter-generational relations*
a) *To respect and obey one's parents* (Y=10)
b) *To respect adults in general* (Y=10)
c) *To run errands for adults* (Y=6)
d) To respect older siblings (Y=4)

3. *Practical family responsibilities*
a) *To help with household duties* (Y=16)
b) To enjoy housework (Y=8)
c) To do home chores for men (Y=6)
d) To perform household duties efficiently (Y=4)
e) To do housework uncomplainingly (Y=4)
f) To do house shopping and run errands (Y=4)

4. *General personality traits*
a) *To be sociable, outgoing and friendly* (Y=10)
b) *To be determined and motivated* (Y=7)
c) To behave in quiet and shy manner (Y=4)

5. *Attitudes to jealousy*
a) *To regard high levels of jealousy in the community as a serious social problem* (Y=16)
b) *To look down on those less well off than oneself* (N=16)

MALES

1. *General comments*
a) *To strive for good behaviour at all times* (Y=14)
b) *To respect other people in the community* (Y=10)
c) *To avoid swearing and insulting others* (Y=9)
d) *To avoid gossiping* (Y=5)

2. *Inter-generational relations*
a) *To respect adults in general* (Y=13, conditionally=5)
b) *To respect and obey one's parents* (Y=6, N=1, ambivalent=4)
c) *To run errands for adults* (Y=6, conditionally=4)

3. *Practical family responsibilities*
a) *To help with household duties* (Y=6)

4. *General personality traits*
a) *To be sociable, out-going and friendly* (Y=4)
b) *To be determined and motivated* (Y=4)
c) To be good-tempered (Y=4)

5. *Attitudes to jealousy*
a) *To regard high levels of jealousy in the community as a serious social problem* (Y=16)
b) *To look down on those less well off than oneself* (N=16)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

The difference in the proportion of responses devoted by boys and girls to this challenge was not statistically significant (See Figure 6.1). On the whole, gendered differences in the options associated with this challenge were not great, with two exceptions: i) the greater emphasis placed by girls on housework, and ii) the conditional nature of some boys' acceptance of the importance of respecting adults, as opposed to the unconditional acceptance of this requirement by all the girls.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=312); Family 111 (36%); Decent citizen 36 (12%); Church 29 (9%); Younger generation 28 (9%); Gender roles 27 (9%); Friends 25; Educated/scholar 22; Lovers 16.

Males: (n=434); Miscellaneous* 90 (21%); Family 86 (18%); Educated/scholar 54 (12%); Younger generation 52 (12%); Comrades 46 (11%); Decent citizen 36; Friends 31; Lovers 16; Church 14.

The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by the groups of UNEMPLOYED, EMPLOYED, MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY and MEMBER OF A FOOTBALL CLUB.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge relates to various aspects of the subject's interpersonal conduct. Responses to this challenge included general guidelines for behaviour as well as more specific guidelines governing interactions with members of the older generation and with members of the community better and worse off than oneself, in relation to jealousy. The challenge also included informants' practical responsibilities to other family members in the form of housework. Also included in this category were informants' comments on personality traits considered desirable in interpersonal relations.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

While certain behavioural options included in this challenge were general in nature, three particular aspects of this challenge arose out of particular features of the rapidly changing township environment. The first was the changing nature of inter-generational relationships. The second involved the great disparities in wealth, educational success and future prospects, which led to high levels of jealousy. The third was the growing number of women at school and in the workplace which made the traditionally gendered nature of household responsibilities an area of potential change. Each of these is considered below.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

Males and females devoted almost the same proportion of their responses to this challenge, and they interpreted it in much the same way. Both girls and boys referred to the importance of being well-behaved, respectful and sociable, not using bad language and not gossiping. However women laid more emphasis on household duties than did men, and only men referred to the possibility of openly questioning the authority of adults. A discussion each of these gendered differences is followed by a brief elaboration of the issue of high levels of jealousy in the community.

i) Household duties

Sixteen women, and only six men, referred to housework, and women discussed housework in more detail than did men. Women carried most of the burden of household duties, including cooking, cleaning, washing and ironing. These duties fell

particularly heavily on the shoulders of those young women who were neither working nor at school. Women commented that they did housework because the family expected it. Neglect of household duties resulted in anger and scolding from parents. Efficiency in household matters earned a young woman praise and approval from family members and neighbours.

> "A woman who does not keep her house clean has no self pride." (F14)
>
> "I am never happier than when I am at home helping mother in the house." (F13)
>
> "I must cook and clean well, or else mother and uncle get angry." (F17)

Women stressed that a young women should do her housework willingly and uncomplainingly.

> "A good daughter does her household duties without being asked, and does not complain when she is sent on household errands." (F5)
>
> "I must stay at home a lot where I am needed. Mother expects this, particularly with regard to cooking." (F17)

Several women said it was their duty to do housework for male family members. Women should perform household duties within the house (cook, clean, wash and iron) and men should perform whatever duties were necessary outside the house (sweeping the yard, planting grass and so on).

> "Boys were born to garden and clean the yard. Women were born to cook and clean. I would be embarrassed to see a man standing near pots." (F9)
>
> "Sisters must wash for their brothers. This is a universal thing." (F9)

Only F13, the only daughter at home in a family of many brothers, commented that "a useful man helps in the house". She was scathing about men in this regard: "A man just likes to sit and do nothing and wait for food to appear." She complained bitterly that her unemployed brothers expected her to do all the housework, arguing that a man who did not have a job should not exempted from "women's work".

> "I force them to do the washing because I cannot clean the whole house and do the dishes. And then they grumble so much. Because I am a girl they think they must sit around and make the house dirty. Why should I do everything when they are at home, not working, doing nothing? (If they were working would you be happy to do all their housework?) Yes if they were working I would do everything. I would not mind." (F13)

Young men's references to housework were more limited. Six referred in passing to helping in the house. This help generally referred to the male-defined activity of

cleaning the yard. Two men stated specifically that they did not do housework. M19 said that if his mother was away he called in his girlfriend to clean the house. M13, a staunch comrade, emphasised the importance that households become more democratic in nature, calling in abstract terms for "non-sexism" in families and a gender-free sharing of all household responsibilities. However when asked whether he himself helped with housework he said he was very seldom at home due to his political activities and therefore did not have the opportunity to get involved in household duties.

ii) Respect for adults/parents.

The majority of men and women spoke of the importance of respecting adults in every aspect of one's behaviour. The notion of respect was fundamental to people' attitudes to adults, and so taken for granted, that informants often appeared to be at a loss for words when asked to give examples of respectful behaviour. Examples given in response to such a question often related to the importance of standing up for adults on buses, obeying adults' requests that young people run errands for them, or help them carry parcels. Such requests should be obeyed unconditionally and "without hesitation" (M8):

> "I must behave well towards my mother at all times and be respectful. (How do you show this respect to her?) If I am sent to the shop ten times in one day I must not complain or refuse to go." (M11)

> "If sent on an errand by an older person I must go instantly, and return promptly." (F18)

For young women, an important means of showing respect for their mothers involved conducting one's love affairs in secret so that adults did not find out about them.

> "It is important to show respect for adults at all times. (?) Like never standing with a boy in front of elders - this is taken as a lack of respect." (F5)

In fact it seemed that parents were often aware of their offsprings' love affairs, but out of convention turn a blind eye. F8 for example (who had already had two children with her boyfriend) said she lied to her mother when she wanted to sleep out with him, saying she was going to visit a relative.

> "Mother knows where I am really going - but she appreciates my respect in hiding it from her." (F8)

For young men an important way of showing respect for older men was to treat them with awe, which included staying out of their way and not initiating contact uninvited.

> "I have great respect for Mr Zuma (a neighbour), (Do you know him well?) I do not know him well because most people are afraid to approach him directly. But he might greet you. If he talks to me I will just answer in reply to his question. I would not initiate a conversation with him myself." (M3)

M14's respect for and fear of his grandfather was so great that he was quite prepared to accept all his grandfather's opinions unquestioningly:

> "It would be difficult for me to disagree with my grandfather because the things he tells me are always very true ... it would not be clever for me to try and disagree with something I know is true." (M14)

However despite frequent references to the great care they took to respect adults in their personal behaviour, informants often referred in a more general way to a breakdown in respect for adults in the community.

> "The young ones don't want to respect their elders, they just do things anyhow ... like drinking with older people in the shabeens, smoking in front of older people, swearing even when there are older people about." (M19)

Furthermore there was evidence for a range of challenges by informants to the traditional notion of respect (see Chapter 7). While people paid lip service to this notion, in their day to day lives they behaved in a more independent way than this lip service would suggest. While both men and women covertly challenged this notion, overt challenges to the notion of respect were generally made only by men and not by women.

While 13 boys spoke only in favour of unconditional respect for adults, there were five who were more guarded in their attitudes to this concept. These dissenting male voices spoke in favour of a more conditional form of respect, which they outlined in terms of the following possibilities:

a) Only obey adult requests that seem reasonable.

b) Only obey adult requests if you have political respect for the adult. This meant for example that a comrade need not show respect for an Inkatha adult.

c) Do not obey requests that you feel are wrong in principle. For example M6 said that while in principle he was prepared to run errands for adults, he was opposed to certain kinds of errands. In line with his opposition to alcohol he would never obey an adult who sent him on an errand to buy alcohol. However as a respectful member of the younger generation he should explain the reasons for his refusal to the adult in a polite and courteous manner:

> "An old man called me once and told me to go and buy him some home-made spirits. I said I would not go to that place. Later my friends told me that rather than simply refusing I should have explained my reasons for not wanting to go to that place - unless I did that he would just treat me as a child that was not cooperative." (M6)

d) Obey adults in respect to errands, but not in other ways. M18 made a distinction between "respecting" adults and "listening to them" in the private and public domains respectively. According to his distinction respect involved being polite and helpful in relation to errands and household duties. The issue of listening on the other hand referred to the issue of opinions on political or community matters:

> "We the youth respect adults, but do not listen to them. (?) I respect old people - if someone sends me somewhere on an errand, then I do it. (In what area would you not listen to them?) As far as politics are concerned, I would not listen to them. They tell us that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is fighting for the liberation of the nation! (sarcastic tone of voice)." (M18)

These four points will be discussed in more detail in Section 7.4

M15 said he found it difficult to treat his father with respect because of what he regarded as his father's abusive treatment of him. His (also unemployed) father frequently taunted him and shouted abuse at him because he had failed to finish school or find a job. M15's older friend and role model urged him not to answer him back in such situations (a sign of great disrespect to a parent), but often the temptation was too great, despite being terrified of him.

> "I have never fought (physically) with my father but I do exchange harsh words with him. For example, since he himself has lost his job, if he sees me walking on the road he shouts: 'Hey, you *skoteni* (hobo), why are you not working? You should be working now and feeding your family.' And I answer back: 'Its not my choice not to work like this. It is the situation that forces me, because there is no work.' He doesn't understand at all. Instead he shouts more, and tells me not to answer him back, and threatens to beat me, and I just run away." (M15)

M13 was the only subject that appeared to have dispensed with the notion of respect for parents altogether in his behavioural repertoire. He argued that the older generation had forfeited their right to respect from the youth through their dismal failure to improve their life circumstances.

> "Kids have looked to their parents setting an example, and seeing that the parents have done nothing good for them they lose respect for them and start doing things on their own, leaving their parents behind." (M13)

He sorrowfully recounted a story about his childhood friend Thulani whose fear of his father had caused him to "over-respect" him. M13 associated Thulani's blind adherence to these old-fashioned rules of respect with with a lack of commitment to a new society and severe limitations on his life possibilities.

> "Thulani tried to stop me from entering his father's house with a June 16[22] T-shirt. I was very surprised to see that despite Thulani's fears, his father accepted me without bitterness - and I realised that Thulani has been brought up in a family where you never question anything - he was told to go to school, and finish your schooling and go to work and support your family. That was the beginning and the end of his life - he is just sticking to that kind of life, and I am trying to change it." (M13)

A number of people referred to declining moral standards amongst the older generation as an obstacle standing in the way of the traditional notion of respect, as well as a failure by the older generation to show respect to the youth. They commented that frequent displays of the older generations' failure to honour old codes often made youth reluctant to do the same in return.

> "The older generation does not know how to treat the younger generation. You find that sometimes an older person talks anyhow to the younger generation, and I don't think that is the respect that the younger generation deserves." (M16)

In summary, the issue of respect for the older generation was hotly debated by several of the young men in the sample. While the general old-fashioned norm of respect for adults still served as an important reference point for young men, it was by no means obeyed in an unquestioning way by all the young men in the sample. Furthermore while some young men were prepared to obey certain of the norms of respect around less significant issues such as running to the shops, they were sometimes not prepared to respect the older generation's political views, or their attitudes to whites, to working conditions or to the future.

iii) Jealousy in the community

The prevalence of jealousy in the township community was mentioned by nearly all respondents, both male and female. These references were made in connection with the wide disparities between township people in terms of education, future prospects, employment success and levels of wealth. The interviews revealed high levels of competition as township residents struggled for these scarce resources, making jealousy

22 June 16 or 'Soweto Day' marks the anniversary of the day on which police killed large numbers of Soweto schoolchildren in 1976. The children were protesting against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in schools.

a central feature of township social life: jealousy by uneducated youth and school dropouts for their more educated peers, by less talented scholars for more talented scholars, by members of the older generation for the younger generations' superior educational achievements and political success; by unskilled workers for professional workers such as teachers; by criminals or drinkers for more respected members of the community; by people of recent rural origins for more sophisticated urban people; by young girls whose opportunities had been blighted by pregnancy for their childless and upwardly mobile peers, by members of poor families for members of more wealthy families.

Jealousy was considered an extremely negative social phenomenon. Implicit in references to jealousy was the distinction between the in-group of ONE OF THE PEOPLE, and the out-group of SNOBS. A member of the ONE OF THE PEOPLE group was a person who despite achieving success did not treat other members of the community with contempt, or behave as if they were superior to others. Such a person continued to identify with their less successful or talented peers, and to use their personal successes and achievements to uplife the community wherever possible. The corresponding out-group was that of SNOBS. The phrase 's/he thinks s/he is better than other people' cropped up frequently as a severe indictment of the individual being discussed. Negative references were frequently made to black hospital nurses who treated fellow black patients with arrogance or contempt.

Group memberships

For young women, the FAMILY was the most influential group membership in this category:

"My family expect me to behave like a girl - in other words very well." (F20)

It is suggested that the strong association of the family with the general interpersonal conduct of young women is due to their relatively limited range of interests and freedom of movement as compared to their male counterparts. In addition the high level of responses associated with the FAMILY for women on this challenge is related to the fact that female responses on this challenge were heavily weighted by references to housework. FAMILY membership was almost invariably cited as the group membership associated with household duties.

For males, MISCELLANEOUS, EDUCATED/SCHOLAR, and FAMILY were the most influential self-categorisations. The MISCELLANEOUS category included the

group memberships of the UNEMPLOYED, the EMPLOYED and MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY, all three being cited in connection with options relating to jealousy in the community. Another MISCELLANEOUS categorisation that was often associated with this challenge was MEMBER OF A FOOTBALL CLUB. Several young men cited their football clubs as a good influence on their behaviour, both in terms of keeping them engaged in health activity and off the streets, and in terms of strict discipline exerted on club members who were expected to be well-behaved and disciplined both off the field and on it.

The COMRADES grouping was also associated with male responses on this category, who often referred to the ideal of comradeship in justifying good behaviour:

> "Comrades are characterised by their actions towards other people. All these actions represent sympathy and consideration. They must be neat and respectable young ones in the community ... and disciplined in their behaviour." (M13)

Another group membership that was mentioned by both girls and boys was that of YOUNGER GENERATION. This was the group membership cited most frequently in relation to options regarding the importance of respect in inter-generational relationships:

> "It is very important that we as the younger generation give our parents respect, so that our own children will also respect us one day." (M14)

However the influence of the YOUNGER GENERATION was sometimes ambiguous, with the notion of the bright, politically conscious youth also being cited in connection with challenges to the notion of respect for adults. This point will also be developed further in Chapter 7.

Summary

The adaptative challenge of CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT referred to a range of general guidelines relating to the importance of behaving well; having an agreeable personality; performing ones' household duties (a particular concern for young women); and not looking down on those less well off than oneself. One of the cornerstones of the notion of a well-behaved young person involved the notion of respect for adults. While the majority of people emphasised the importance of respect, a few people (all male) challenged the appropriateness of the old-fashioned notion of respect, suggesting a range of more conditional guidelines for respectful behaviour. A number of group memberships were associated with this challenge, with the FAMILY being associated particularly strongly with women's responses to it.

6.6 Adaptative challenge 6

Code of conduct: sexual conduct

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *General comments*
a) *To have a boyfriend* (Y=15,N=5)
b) *To tell one's family one has a boyfriend* (Y=3,N=12)
c) To meet one's boyfriend secretly (Y=9)
d) To decide not to have a boyfriend in order to give studies one's top priority (Y=5)
e) To tolerate bad behaviour in a boyfriend (Y=4)
f) *To make every effort to please one's boyfriend* (Y=4)

2. *Sexual fidelity*
a) *To tolerate an unfaithful boyfriend* (Y=11,N=5)
   Of the 11 that tolerated infidelity: to feel angry but powerless (Y=3); to accept male infidelity as a simple fact of life (Y=8).
b) *To be faithful to one's boyfriend* (Y=15)

3. *Attitudes to male dominance*
a) To accept male authority (Y=12,N=3)
   Of the 12 that accept it: willing acceptance of male authority (Y=8); unwilling acceptance of male authority (Y=4)

4. *Having children at a young age*
a) *To worry about falling pregnant (regarding this as a bad option)* (Y=19)
b) *To use contraception* (Y=9,N=9)
   Of the 9 who did not approve of contraception:
   Abstain from sex (Y=3)
   Take risks and hope not to get into trouble (Y=4)
   Lessen risk of pregnancy by infrequent sex (Y=2)
c) *To have a child* (Y=7)

MALES

1. *General comments*
a) *To have a girlfriend* (Y=15,N=5)
b) *To tell one's parents one has a girlfriend* (Y=1,N=11)
c) *To make every effort to please one's girlfriend* (Y=5)
d) To force one's girlfriend to have sexual intercourse against her will (Y=2,N=2)
e) To treat women in a rough way (Y=4)

2. *Sexual fidelity*
a) *To be faithful to one's girlfriend* (Y=3, N=7, Undecided=1)
b) *To tolerate an unfaithful girlfriend* (Y=1,N=10)

3. *Attitudes to male dominance*
a) To insist on obedience from one's girlfriend (Y=3,N=2)

4. *Having children at a young age*
a) *To worry about one's girlfriend falling pregnant* (Y=2,N=3)
b) To take steps to avoid pregnancy. (N=5)
c) *To have had a child* (Y=2)[23]

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Girls devoted a significantly greater proportion of their responses to this challenge (see Figure 6.1). While most of the options cited by males and females were similar, the direction of their choices tended to differ. This was especially noticeable with regard to the matters of male dominance, sexual fidelity, and fear of pregnancy. In general men had a greater degree of freedom and power in sexual relationships than their female counterparts.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS ASSOCIATED WITH MEETING THE CHALLENGE:

Females: (n=345); Lovers 107 (31%); Gender 82 (24%); Family 66 (19%); Miscellaneous 42; Educated 14.

Males: (n=151); Lovers 79 (52%); Family 29 (19%).

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23 Contrary to the general practice of only including options referred to by four or more informants, this option is included here for comparability with women informants.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge referred to the option of having a lover, and a range of options relating to sexual liaisons. These included the issues of secrecy, fidelity, power relationships between girlfriends and boyfriends, and pregnancy.

Circumstances leading to the challenge

Young people appeared to be caught between two conflicting pressures. On the one hand they faced peer pressure to have sexual relationships. On the other hand their parents' encouraged them to postpone sexual activities until they were older. In general the older generation's advice was disregarded. Most informants in the study were sexually active. The norms around sexual behaviour were strongly gendered in nature, with men playing the dominant role in relationships, and with women often having to tolerate male behaviour they disapproved of.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

The majority of informants had lovers, with some boys having more than one. Interviews indicated competing pressures on young people in this regard. On the one hand there were strong peer pressures in favour of sexual relationships (e.g. M20 said he was not really interested in girls, but felt obliged to have a girlfriend because of peer pressure). On the other hand there was pressure by the older generation against having lovers too early. However the general agreement amongst youth was that this was an unacceptably old-fashioned and unrealistic view.

> "My mother continually tells me that she wants me to get married, but then she gets angry if I have a boyfriend. How does she think I'll ever find a husband without having a boyfriend first?" (F14)

There were also other pressures against having lovers. Five young women commented that they had chosen to make studies their priority in the interests of having a 'bright future'. Several subjects of both genders stressed that lovers should not be allowed to interfere with more important priorities such the political struggle and education:

> "A scholar should not fall in love prematurely. You cannot study if you are deeply in love." (M14)

The remainder of this elaborative section discusses one similarity and three differences in male and female interpretations of this challenge. A preoccupation common to both men and women was their concern with keeping their relationships a secret from their parents. However there were clearly delineated gendered differences in the interpretation of this challenge with regard to sexual fidelity, male dominance and the risk of pregnancy.

i) Keeping one's sexual relationships a secret.

Both girls and boys referred to the undesirability of letting one's family know one had a lover.

> "I would simply never let my parents know I had a girlfriend - it is not in our culture to do this." (M2)

Young men generally feared only their parents and were open about their lovers with their sisters. Young women on the other hand feared not only their parents, but also their brothers who often saw it as their task to 'police' their sisters, believing that their sister's virtue or lack of it reflected on the honour of the family.

In the case of older girls in particular it seems that parents did in fact know their daughters had boyfriends, but turned a blind eye to this for the sake of appearances. This must certainly have been the case with F9, hugely pregnant with her second child at the time of the interview, who insisted that her parents knew nothing at all of her love affairs, and that she went to elaborate lengths to conceal them.

F7, also already a mother, emphasised that keeping up appearances was important.

> "When I want to go to visit my boyfriend I tell my mother I am going to a relative. In fact mother knows that I am going to my boyfriend, but she knows that I respect her by hiding it - and she appreciates this respect."

Young couples often had to exercise ingenuity in planning times and places for meetings. Two young women referred to having to meet their boyfriends in town in parks or in busstops. One hinted at the difficulty of finding suitable places for sex. Another, whose boyfriend was a taxi driver, said that they were forced to have sex in his taxi since neither dared to take the other to his or her home.

ii) Male dominance

In general it appeared that in sexual relationships men were dominant, with women having to accept what they got at the hands of men.

> "I like my girlfriend to bow down under my power all the time. I like her to obey me. I will never be ruled by a woman." (M11)
>
> "Boys are generally people who think only of themselves, and do not care about other people (i.e. girls)." (F20)

It was generally regarded as the young man's task to initiate a relationship, by 'proposing' to the young woman of his choice. Several young women laughed at the interview question which asked them why they had chosen their boyfriends.

> "(Laughing) I did not choose him. He chose me." (F2)

While men did not explicity refer to this issue in any detail, 14 women referred to the theme of male dominance. Their respondents fell into three groupings. The first type of response to male dominance involved a willing acceptance of male authority. For these, male dominance was simply a fact of life, one which it did not occur to them to challenge. F8, for example, gave the following justification in support of her claim that male members of the family should discipline erring women by beating them:

> "(Do you feel it is appropriate that men beat women who misbehave?) Yes it is appropriate .... this is because men are heads of families .... women could not do the same job. (Why could women not do the same job?) Its just that men should be the head of the family. I don't know why at all. This is just the best way. (If someone were to suggest to you that we should change the world and give women more power, would you agree with this?) No I would not agree with this at all." (F8)

F13 gave a biblical justification for the legitimacy of male authority:

> "(Why is is that men have so much power, and women so little?) I think it is because men are great. The Bible says this. The Bible says that we must listen to men." (F13)

The second type of response to male dominance in sexual relationships involved accepting that one had to defer to men for pragmatic reasons, but feeling some resentment at having to do this. One young woman said while she resented her boyfriend's restrictions on her movements she had no choice but to obey him because she wanted him to marry her.

> "Women often have to do stupid things in order to get men to marry them." (F11)

Another said that women were forced to obey men if they wanted money from them.

> "Usually a man is one to say that his word is final even if he knows that he is not right. He ends up prevailing simply because he does not tolerate any opposition. (What gives men this power to insist they are right?) They know you will not oppose what they say because at some time you may want something out of them - such as money. Men won't give money to women who don't listen to them." (F6)

F15 said that while she resented her boyfriend's restrictions she obeyed them because she loved him. Boys expected obedience as a sign of love. F2 and F6 said that being beaten by their boyfriends made them angry, but that they were forced to accept this situation because the men were physically stronger than they were. When asked why she did not leave him if she did not like his beatings F2 replied in a scathing tone as if this were a silly question.

> "What would be the point of leaving him? I might only end up with someone worse." (F2)

The third type of response to male dominance involved a refusal to bow to male authority, with three young women saying they would assert their independence against men who tried to browbeat them. F12 commented that her boyfriend had tried to prevent her from standing on her school's Students' Representative Council (SRC). She said she had decided to stand nevertheless, and that if he had become too insistent in his restrictions she would have left him rather than submitting. Both F3 and F5 held fairly stereotypical views of gender roles, believing women were more pliable than men, that men were more assertive than women and so on. However they commented that education and contact with other cultures was changing these roles. In particular both young women said that education had resulted in growing economic equality between men and women, and that as the economic power of women increased, so would their ability to resist male domination.

The issue of men mistreating their girlfriends was mentioned by both men and women. Two young men, both members of the PHANTSULA group, commented shamefacedly on the rough way in which they (as Phantsula's) handled women, grabbing strange young women in the streets, forcing them to talk to them and so on. They spoke of pressures on Phantsula's to behave in a masculine and swaggering way. Both commented that they were not proud of this behaviour. One of these commented wryly that it was not always easy to live up to this tough and powerful image.

> "As Phantsula's we try to be playboys - but we don't always succeed." (M17)

They commented that the rival grouping the DUDES tended to treat women better than the Phantsula's did.

M18 said he often forced his girlfriend to do things against her will:

> "(Do you ever encourage your girlfriend to do things against her will?) Only forcing her to attend political meetings which she does not like, as well as forcing her to come to relatives' homes with me without informing her parents. I also sometimes force her to steal money from her home because her father is a teacher and has lots of money." (M18)

Despite his practice of forcing his girlfriend to do things behind her parents' back, M18 said that he would never consider approaching his girlfriend directly in front of her parents, because this would constitute a sign of great disrespect. He spoke positively of a comrades programme in his area to encourage respectful behaviour in the community.

> "We in the comrades are trying to educate young men that it is important to send a young child to call your girlfriend from her home, rather than going there yourself because this is a sign of disrespect or showing disregard for her parents. If this practice does not stop, this will mean that we are just like people living in compounds. (The word 'compound' refers to sleeping accomodation provided for workers at the workplace, and carries associations of box-like, overcrowded often single-sex quarters.)(Q: What does that mean?) The common township slang refers to a compound or a chicken house, where there are no principles governing that place, and where you just come and go as you please." (M18)

iii) Fidelity

The issue of sexual fidelity was frequently referred to, in the context of widely differing behavioural possibilities for men and women. In short infidelity was an option for men, but not for women. Women were unanimous that they should have one boyfriend at a time. Reasons included the importance of obeying a boyfriend's instructions to be faithful, family pressures, the influence of the church, the influence of friends, the importance of being a 'good woman', and physical health.

> "A woman gets wasted very quickly. She has only energy for one sexual relationship. A man on the other hand does not get wasted. He has energy for many women." (F9)

Only one woman (F2) said that she had once been unfaithful to her boyfriend, but he had caught her out and given her such a beating that she would never take the risk again. Only one subject spoke openly about having had many sexual relationships. F16 laughingly said she had told her boyfriend he was her second lover, when in fact he was her eighth.

Of the 11 men that referred to the option of being unfaithful to their girlfriends, three said they would be too scared of their girlfriends' anger to take this option. One man was undecided, saying that while he was currently faithful he could not rule out the possibility of 'temptation' presenting itself at any time. The unfaithful seven justified their behaviour in terms of the African tradition that it was common for a man to have more than one wife. They also said that the community sanctioned multiple sexual partners for men, referring to them approvingly as 'playboys'. One boy said it was important to have at least two girlfriends as an insurance policy:

> "In this way you have a backstop if one of them does something wrong, and you are forced to leave her." (M16)

There was general agreement that a man should make every effort to conceal his infidelities from his girlfriends. M4 explained this in terms of his fear that two rival women might come to be "on bad terms with each other" if they were to find out about each other. A man who caused feuds between young women in this way might be eligible for trial by the Peoples' Court. M4 quoted an anecdote about an acquaintance who failed to keep his girlfriends "in the dark" about each other. This led to a bitter feud between the two women, ending in a violent fight when they attacked each other. The indiscreet boyfriend was called before the Peoples' Court and reprimanded for failing to keep order amongst his girlfriends. He was ordered to keep better control of them. At the end of the court hearing the two women fell on top of each other yet again, scratching and hitting. The court was immediately reconvened, and the young man sentenced to a number of lashes as punishment. The crowd elected the two girlfriends to administer the lashes.

> "Because they were on bad terms, and he was the cause of the quarreling, each of the girls were given a *sjambok* to punish this man." (M4)

M4 said that while his acquaintance was prepared to accept the Peoples' judgement against him, he was particularly incensed that the punishment had been administered by women:

> "He agreed to take the punishment but he was very angry and humiliated to have been punished by women. If he had been punished by men this would have been OK." (M4)

Young women were divided as to whether or not to tolerate infidelity in their boyfriends. Five said they would leave their boyfriends if they were unfaithful, and would not tolerate double standards. If their boyfriends expected them to be faithful,

they had the right to demand the same in return. The other ten women who referred to this option however said they tolerated their boyfriends' infidelities. These tolerant responses took one of two forms:

i) an angry but powerless response, where women had expressed this anger to their boyfriends, and asked them to give up their rivals, but to no avail

ii) a tolerant response: where women tolerated this state of affairs for a range of reasons, including their belief that it was in a man's nature to be unfaithful; the traditional Zulu custom of polygamy justified male infidelity; and the fact that men had greater sexual needs than women.

A variety of pragmatic reasons were also offered. Certain women were prepared to tolerate their boyfriends' infidelities because their boyfriends had assured them that they were the most important woman in their lives. Several commented that while they would prefer a faithful boyfriend in the best of all possible worlds, there was no point in leaving an unfaithful one.

> "A woman loves a man in spite of these things (infidelity). She might be afraid of ditching the boy. What if she ditches him, only to find a worse man than she had already?" (F2)

Another women said she tolerated her rival because she feared pregnancy, and was relieved that her boyfriend had someone else to meet his sexual needs.

Some women outlined particular conditions under which they were prepared to tolerate infidelity. F1 outlined a 'first come, first served' principle. In situations of conflict of interests a man should be the most loyal to the woman who had been in his life the longest. Thus she said she had been prepared to tolerate her former lover's infidelity, since her rival had known her lover the longest. However she was not happy about her present boyfriend's infidelity because her rival was a recent arrival and did not have the same claims on the boyfriend as she did. F20 outlined a 'two's company, three's a crowd' principle. She said that a young man should be allowed to have two lovers, but that she would never tolerate a man who had three lovers.

> "I feel that when there are two girlfriends they should get to know each other, so that they can meet, and solve problems together. Three girlfriends on the other hand constitute a crowd - and would be less likely to reach consensus on issues." (F20)

There was less readiness on the part of male subjects to tolerate infidelity. Only one unemployed man, M18, said ruefully that his girlfriend had other boyfriends, which made him very "frustrated". He justified his tolerance by explaining that the woman

was such a "hot cherry", smart, sophisticated and well-dressed, and that he was prepared to make the sacrifice of tolerating competition with other men for the occasional pleasure of her company. (It seems that the raw materials available to an unemployed man for achieving self-esteem were so scarce that in this case the compromise seemed worthwhile.) Other men who referred to this option were emphatic that they would not tolerate a girlfriend's infidelity. Five said they would leave an unfaithful girlfriend. Two referred to occasions when they had beaten women for being unfaithful.

> "I once beat P because she continued to be in love with another boy even though I had told her to stop seeing him." (M4)

Some young men commented that they became very angry with their girlfriends if they saw them even conversing with other boys. Men justified their insistence on fidelity on two counts. Firstly the community looked down on an unfaithful woman. While the community tolerated multiple sexual partners for men, this was not the case with women.

> "I have got true love for my girlfriend. However if I were to have many lovers people would not say to me that I was a 'bitch'[24] - they would think that I was a 'playboy' which is a very nice thing to be. But for a woman to be called a 'bitch' - this is a very bad thing." (M10)

They emphasised that the community placed great weight on a woman's reputation - and that a man's status could be lowered by association with an unfaithful woman.

Secondly men said it was necessary to insist on fidelity because this was the only way of being sure of the paternity of children:

> "Regarding pregnancy women simply cannot be trusted." (M4)

> "My friends have warned me about such women. There is no point in going to jail (on a maintenance charge) for the baby of a stranger." (M6)

Having examined gendered differences in attitudes to sexual fidelity, we now turn to gendered differences in attitudes to pregnancy.

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24 The word 'bitch' is used to refer to a promiscuous woman.

iv) Pregnancy

Nineteen women stated that having children at a young age was a bad thing. Thirteen of these did not have children, all saying they were happy about this state of affairs. They said the birth of a child often caused a major interruption in a young woman's schooling; that it was unwise to have a baby before one had a job and could contribute to its material support; that the birth of a child put pressure on families already living under dire poverty; and that the birth of a child to a teenage mother out of wedlock might serve to disappoint the teenager's parents, particularly in the light of the sacrifices parents might have made to keep young women in school for as long as possible.

Seven of the young women in the sample had children. Five had one child each, one had two children, and one was heavily pregnant with her second child at the time of the interview. Each said their pregnancy had been unintentional and unwanted and that their families had been disapproving. Despite disapproval, the families of the young women invariably took in the children. While families were prepared to forgive young women one lapse, the birth of a second baby to an unmarried woman in this age group was often considered unforgivably careless. Two of the young mothers feared their families would 'throw them out' if they were to fall pregnant again.

F9, the pregnant respondent appeared to be extremely upset by her pregnancy. Her mother had said she was unwilling to take responsibility for a 'second mistake' and that the girl should take the baby to her boyfriend's family. However her boyfriend (a taxi driver) lived with an aunt who was so strict that he had not even told her he had a girlfriend, let alone that she was pregnant. She said that her boyfriend showed no interest in the child, neither was he particularly interested in her, having several other girlfriends.

Two of the young mothers said that they had fallen pregnant because they had not known the facts of life. F7 commented her mother had not told her these facts because she had thought her daughter was still too young to know them. She said that much as she loved her baby, it had put an end to her hopes of a 'bright future'.

> "The birth of the baby has ruined my life chances." (F7)

Eighteen women referred to the option of using contraception. Nine subjects used contraceptives (the Pill or the Injection). (No informants of either gender mentioned condoms. Contraception was always understood as measures taken by women.) The

rest cited the following reasons for their opposition to their use: boyfriends disapproved of it because it led to female promiscuity; it led to the birth of deformed babies (one woman said she had been told this by her biology teacher at school); it led to poor health or infertility or obesity; it disrupted a young woman's menstrual cycle. Against the background of these fears, three women chose abstinence as a way of avoiding pregnancy. Two said that they hoped to avoid pregnancy by not having sex too often. The other four said that they took risks, and simply 'hoped' they would not be unlucky.

Two of the fifteen sexually active men expressed concern that their girlfriends would become pregnant (M8 and M20). Neither of them had considered the option of contraception however. The first of these, M20, said this option had never occurred to him. The second, M8, said that female contraceptives were the cause of serious diseases, and for this reason he would not consider their use. Three men said they would never consider contraception as an option. The first of these, M10, said that contraception was simply an excuse for female promiscuity, and not an option for a decent woman. The second, M3, said that it was a woman's role to reproduce as often as she was able, and that measures such as contraception would mean there were no more births in the community. He also said that it was necessary for a woman to prove her fertility before any man would marry her, and that contraception stood in the way of this process. The third of these, M11, referred to severe health problems caused by contraceptives: the contraceptive pill made women thin, and also caused them to age quickly. He also stated (at the age of 17) that he would be very proud if his girlfriend fell pregnant. He said that he was sure that his older brothers would take responsibility for child support.

Several young men said they would be reluctant to admit paternity if their girlfriends were to become pregnant. They offered a variety of reasons for this. M3, a Standard 8 scholar, who had regular unprotected sex with his two teenage girlfriends, said he would be very wary of accepting paternity of a child. He said he would wait at least a year. Then he would decide whether the child looked like any of his family members or not. If not, he would not accept responsibility for it. In short it appeared that girlfriends rather than boyfriends carried the burden of fear of pregnancy as well as the responsibility for babies that they might have.

Group memberships

The group memberships of FAMILY, LOVERS and GENDER were most frequently associated with this challenge. These groupings were consistent in promoting a stereotypical set of options informed by the prototypes of female submissiveness and male dominance.

Summary

Options regarding sexual behaviour gave men a greater degree of freedom and power than women. Many women accepted the inevitability of male dominance, whether or not they liked this situation. Women were expected to be faithful to one sexual partner, men were not. Women carried the burden of worries about pregnancy, men did not. The group memberships of FAMILY, LOVERS and GENDER all served to reinforce the differential set of behavioural possibilities and constraints available to men and women.

6.7 Adaptative challenge 7

Code of conduct: alcohol

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To drink* (Y=2,N=17)
2. *To visit shabeens* (N=6)
3. *To smoke cigarettes* (N=4)

MALES

1. *To drink* (Y=12,N=8)
2. *To visit shabeens* (Y=7,N=4)
3. To drink moderately rather than heavily (Y=10)
4. To smoke *dagga* (marijuana) (Y=2,N=6)
5. *To smoke cigarettes* (Y=4,N=2)
6. To drink or smoke in front of parents and signficant adults (N=5)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

There was no significant difference in the proportion of responses devoted to this challenge by men and by women. (see Figure 6.1). With regard to their interpretation of this challenge, men associated it with a wider range of options than women. The direction of choices made by women and men also differed, with women deciding not to take the options of drinking, smoking and visiting shabeens more frequently than did men.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=116); Decent citizen 53 (46%); Church 12 (10%).

Males: (n=216); Miscellaneous* 68 (31%); Decent citizen 52 (24%); Family 34 (16%); Educated/scholar 14; Younger generation 12.

> The category of MISCELLANEOUS was weighted by the group memberships of DRINKER, UNEMPLOYED and PHANTSULAS.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included options relating to drinking alcohol, smoking *dagga* (marijuana) and smoking cigarettes.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

The lack of recreational facilities available to working class black people means that for many young people shabeens are one of the few places where they can meet away from home for social interaction. This is particularly true of the large number of unemployed men (drinking is generally defined as a masculine activity). Drinking and drugs were sometimes cited as one of the few activities available to unemployed men, serving both as means of passing time, and of alleviating stress. Shabeens are informal drinking places usually in township homes. They are often run by older unemployed women, some of whom are unable to find formal sector work and sell liquor from their homes as a means of subsistence. Generally some form of seating is provided for drinkers.

Elaboration of the challenge, and gendered differences in its interpretation

Drinking was an option referred to by every man and all but one woman. While there was no significant difference in the number of responses devoted to this challenge by men and women, there was a marked difference in the gendered interpretation of this challenge. Twelve men said they were drinkers, but only two women described themselves in this way. In addition the range of responses relating to drinking was narrower for women than for men. Smoking *dagga* was also mentioned by young men, with two men referring to themselves as *dagga* smokers. One of these (M15) said that he smoked *dagga* every now and then. He said he disapproved of his habit, but as an unemployed person "there is not much else that I can do". The second dagga smoker (M18) said that he smoked three times a day, and that while he would like to give up "I could not manage without it". Apart from *dagga* two male persons mentioned the option of using Mandrax or other 'pills', both saying that they chose not to take this option.

Several men stressed that they would never drink or smoke in front of their parents, or 'in public', as did the two women who called themselves drinkers. (These women also said they would not drink in front of their boyfriends.) To do this would show a lack of respect for older people, who, it was generally assumed, disapproved of all forms of substance use.

> "When I am drunk I don't go home ... I am so scared of my father ... I usually go to places where I am going to stay the whole night, for example I might stay up all night at the shabeen." (M17)

Only one person (M18) said that his mother accepted his drinking habit. He said she accepted it "because she knows that I am unemployed, and as such have to drink".

Drinking and *dagga* were referred to as common activities of the unemployed, who said that alcohol and *dagga* were useful means of passing time, and alleviating stress and boredom.

> "Once I begin to drink then I am happy. And sometimes when I am worried, once I've had a few drinks, I feel OK." (M10)

Others simply said drinking was an extremely pleasurable activity.

> "When I am a bit drunk, and listening to soft music in the shabeen, I like that dizziness that I get." (M17)

Three general qualifications were made by men regarding drinking behaviour. Firstly it was considered more acceptable to drink during the evening than during the day. Secondly it was considered more acceptable to drink on weekends than during the week. Thirdly drinking was a male occupation. Drinking by women was heavily frowned upon. It was considered far more undignified for a woman to drink than a man.

> "It's true that it's less acceptable for a woman to drink, because she's a precious person to us." (M18)

Women drinkers were seen as far more likely to be sexually promiscuous, and it was generally agreed that women in shabeens were often the cause of fights amongst men. Fights might break out for example when a woman allowed more than one man to buy drinks for her. There was general agreement that once a man had bought a woman a drink, he had the right to her company and unqualified attention for the remainder of the evening. Sometimes women left one benefactor for another, perhaps because the first man had run out of money, leading to fights between the two men over who had the right to her company and attentions.

Group memberships

The group membership most commonly associated with female responses was DECENT CITIZEN. Members of this group were characterised as having dignity and self-control, deserving of respect from the community and responsible enough to be concerned about their health. In contrast, drinkers were criticised for being promiscuous, for using bad language, for having a tendency to fight with one another, and for lacking personal ambition for a 'bright future'.

> "Drinking ruins your life" (F20).
>
> "Those who are drinkers achieve nothing" (F2).
>
> "I don't find any need to drink. I can't see where it leads to. It kills the future of a person." (F9)

The CHURCH was also an influence on women in this regard. For example, one woman said her particular church did not allow drinkers to wear the respected church uniform. A few men and women mentioned the group membership EDUCATED as an influence against drinking. Scholars were characterised by their investment in a bright future. Some suggested that only uneducated people drank. Another person explained her decision not to drink in terms of her membership of the YOUNGER

GENERATION, who carried the responsibility of being the community's 'key to the future'. Another said that she did not drink because she was too young, and that the drinking crowd in her area consisted of older people.

For males, the MISCELLANEOUS category was commonly associated with this challenge. This category was boosted by the group membership of DRINKER, as well as that of the UNEMPLOYED. The category PHANTSULA was also mentioned frequently here, with the activity of drinking often being associated with the Phantsula's masculine and aggressive image.

The FAMILY was also mentioned as a strong influence against the use of alcohol and drugs. Family pressures not to drink were exercised in a range of ways including disapproval, beating and the threat of withdrawal of financial assistance for schooling. Several men also referred to the school, mentioning school rules that prohibited drinking as well as the threat of expulsion if a scholar drank during school hours. One person (M19) explained his decision not to drink in terms of the fact that his ability to study was grossly impaired when he was drunk.

Summary

Drinking and visiting shabeens were generally referred to as male activities. Women drinkers appeared to be frowned on by the community. The group memberships of DECENT CITIZEN and CHURCH were most commonly associated with women's decisions not to drink. The groupings of DRINKER, UNEMPLOYED and PHANTSULA were most commonly associated with the option of drinking by men.

6.8 Adaptative challenge 8

Planning for the future: community upliftment

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To consider the township community as a problematic area, and to feel it needs uplifting* (Y=15,N=3,don't care=2)
2. *To consider an end to the violence and political disunity as a precondition for community upliftment* (Y=5)

MALES

1. *To consider the township community as a problematic area, and to feel it needs uplifting* (Y=19)
2. To regard the comrades as a vehicle for community upliftment (Y=14)
3. *To regard an end to violence and political disunity as a precondition for community upliftment* (Y=12)
4. To regard improved community facilities (e.g. roads, schools, parks) as a precondition for community upliftment (Y=9)
5. To regard higher levels of education amongst township people as a vehicle for community upliftment (Y=6)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Young men devoted a significantly greater proportion of responses to this challenge than young women (see Figure 6.2). Furthermore males referred to a greater range of options for community upliftment than did their female counterparts.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=78); Miscellaneous* 37 (47%); Decent citizen 36 (46%).

Males: (n=110); Comrades 40 (36%); Miscellaneous* 38 (35%); Black 17 (15%).

*The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by the grouping of MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included responses relating to current problems facing the township community in which the subjects lived. It also included references to those factors which people thought would lead to improvement of their living conditions.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

Appendix A.1 refers in some detail to the problems facing township citizens, ranging from meagre opportunities for self-advancement, to poor facilities such as roads and housing, to high levels of crime, violence and political conflict. Despite these problems, the growing political power of black South Africans has filled many township citizens with optimism that they will see significant community upliftment in the next few years.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

Nineteen young men and fifteen young women referred to problems facing the township community. These included the violent political conflict between Inkatha and the MDM/ANC, education problems, overcrowded housing, poor roads and infrastructure, high levels of unemployment, high rates of alcoholism, crime and almost total lack of social welfare facilities. While there was general agreement that the township community was desperately in need of improvement, suggestions regarding solutions were often vague and fragmentary. This was especially so in the case of women. This section will focus on the responses of women and men in turn. Five women suggested that an end to the violent political conflict was a necessary precondition for improved quality of life, commenting that this violence made life very difficult.

> "The future of the community is not bright with the burnings, killings and violence." (F11)

> "What I would like to see is a place where kids can move freely." (F20)

However they did not expand on how this much desired peace would be achieved. Two women commented that an essential prerequisite for community upliftment was 'freedom'. However they found it difficult to explain what they meant by freedom.

Young women generally appeared to be poorly informed or bewildered about current affairs even in their own immediate areas. Thus for example F11 whose family had been forced to flee their home after her brother was accused of a politically related murder said she had no idea as to the cause of the current township violence.

The most concrete suggestion made by a girl for improving the lives of township youth came from F19, a future university student. She said that young people were constrained by the lack of assistance available to them for identifying or developing their skills and talents.

> "(What factors prevent youth from getting ahead?) If perhaps they had been given guidance from the family and the school right from standard four they might have a better chance ... they should be asked what their ambitions are, and should be helped to make these ambitions come true ... In many schools they do not regard guidance as an important subject, and in most homes they don't talk about these things ... perhaps the parents come home late and are exhausted from work. They don't ask children what they have learned at school ..." (F19)

Young men were more specific in their ideas for community improvement. The comrades were the most frequently cited vehicle for bringing about community upliftment. However references to the comrades' plans for the future tended to be weighted in terms of the general goals of the grouping (drawing heavily on liberation clichés) rather than in terms of precise strategies for how they would bring about their aims.

> "In fact the comrades want to see everyone living in decent houses where there is no (racial) differentiation as we see at present ... though in the community this is more of a wish than a reality." (M20)

There were three notable exceptions to this pattern. *M13 spoke at length about the* rationale behind the strategy of economic sanctions. M10 spoke about the strategic importance of skilfully combining armed struggle and negotiation in bringing about social change. M19 was part of his local comrades committee that had taken a petition to the local municipality in an attempt to pressurise them into improving the water facilities in his area. He was also an active member of his local Peace Committee, involved in discussions about the conflict between Inkatha and the MDM/ANC.

Like their female counterparts, young men also made wistful references to their desire for 'peace' and 'harmony' in the township. However beyond vague comments (e.g.: "The people on both sides of the conflict should come together and talk to each other" M11), young men did not communicate any sense of the possibility of these conflicts abating.

Overall however there was a general guarded optimism amongst informants that the position of black people would improve within their lifespans, and that the lives of their children would be better than their own.

> "(How will the world be different for your children?) Young people will try and organise themselves to be educated so that they will not depend on the whites in the future ..." (M6)

> "Look at the country we are living in. Preparations are being made to put the country into good condition ... perhaps my children will have a better future." (M19)

Group memberships

The majority of the womens' responses in regard to this challenge focussed on the community's problems while male responses were more equally divided between problems and solutions. Group memberships associated with female responses were MISCELLANEOUS (where most of the responses in this category referred to the group membership of MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY associated with unspecific references to community problems) and DECENT CITIZEN, a category which was cited by women in the interests of distancing themselves from high levels of crime, violence and alcohol consumption. Groups most frequently associated with male responses included COMRADES, MISCELLANEOUS and BLACK. COMRADES membership was cited in relation to the potential of the grouping to promote community improvement. As in the case of womens' responses the associated MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by references to MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY. The BLACK category was cited in connection with the racial discrimination that was cited as the basis of the community's problems.

Summary

This challenge included references to the obstacles that hindered the community's possibilities for a 'bright future', and to the necessary preconditions for community upliftment. The responses of young women tended to focus on the community's problems, as opposed to the responses of young men which focussed not only on problems, but also on changes that would have to take place to improve the quality of township life. Group memberships associated with responses describing community problems were MISCELLANEOUS (particularly MEMBER OF A PROBLEM

COMMUNITY), BLACK and DECENT CITIZEN. The COMRADES membership was most frequently cited in connection with bringing about beneficial social change.

6.9 Adaptative challenge 9

Planning for the future: education

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. To be actively involved in pursuing one's education (Y=16,N=4)

Of the 16 who were active:
a) To still be a full-time scholar (Y=11)
b) To be in the process of re-writing the matriculation exam (Y=4)
c) To be awaiting university entrance (Y=1)

Of the 4 who were not active:
d) To have been forced to leave school after pregnancy (Y=3)
e) To be involved in informal sector activities[25] (Y=1)
f) To be hoping to return to school if one can find the money (Y=1)

2. To feel constrained by problems hindering one's educational ambitions (Y=14)
a) To feel constrained by lack of money (Y=7)
b) To feel constrained by lack of ability (Y=4)

3. Effort and Persistence
a) To persist with attempts to become educated, even in the face of failure (Y=12)
b) To study extremely hard at school (Y=9)

4. Image of scholars
a) To regard education as an important source of social status (Y=10)

5. To take advantage of educational opportunities denied to the older generation (Y=7)

6. To regard schooling as one's top priority in life (Y=6)

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25 F8 has a home hairdressing business.

MALES

1. *To be actively involved in pursuing one's education* (Y=11, N=9)

Of the 11 who were active:
a) *To be a full-time scholar* (Y=8)
b) To be involved in tertiary education (Y=2)

Of the 9 who were not active:
c) To consider oneself as an unemployed job-seeker (Y=7)
d) *To be involved in informal sector activities*[26] (Y=2)
e) To hope to re-write matric at some time in the future? (Y=1)

2. *To feel constrained by problems hindering one's educational ambitions* (Y=16)
a) *To feel constrained by lack of money* (Y=11)
b) To feel constrained by frequent school boycotts (Y=4)

3. *Effort and Persistence*
a) *To persist with attempts to become educated, even in the face of failure* (Y=12)
b) *To study extremely hard at school* (Y=12)
c) To consider studying further at 'night school' after failing to finish school as a full-time student? (Y=5)

4. *Image of scholars*
a) *To regard education as an important source of social status* (Y=11)

5. To regard an interest in education as an important way for young men to keep 'out of trouble' (Y=8)

6. To regard education as an important prerequisite for political effectiveness (Y=6)

7. *To take advantage of educational opportunities denied to the older generation* (Y=4)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Young men devoted significantly more responses to this challenge than young women (see Figure 6.2). There was a range of common options associated with this challenge by both genders. These related to the problems facing scholars, the image of scholars, the importance of effort and persistence for educational success, and the fact that youth had educational opportunities that their parents lacked. An option that was specific to young women was that of regarding education as their top priority in life. There were two options mentioned only by young men. The first of these was the option of regarding schooling as an important way of 'keeping out of trouble', i.e. avoiding involvement in crime. The second was the matter of regarding education as an important prerequisite for political effectiveness.

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26 M10 is an occasional street hawker. M8 works as a 'bouncer' in his mother's home shabeen.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=188); Educated/scholar 142 (76%); Miscellaneous* 45 (24%).

Males: (n=200); Educated/scholar 134 (67%); Family 28 (14%), Miscellaneous* 14 (7%).

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by frequent references to the category of PROFESSIONAL PERSON (a term used to denote persons with jobs requiring post-school training).

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included all responses relating to informants' educational plans, their motives in striving to become educated, and the problems facing township youth in the task of completing their education.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

For many subjects and their families education was an important means of attaining the 'bright future' they strove for. Informants pointed to examples of township individuals who had managed to *become educated, and as a result had gained access to good jobs,* money, vastly improved quality of life, and the opportunities for enhanced self-esteem. However there were numerous problems standing in the way of young peoples' attempts to become educated (see Appendix A.1 in this regard).

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

While males devoted more responses to this challenge than women, gendered interpretations of this challenge tended to be similar. In this section some general points are made about the challenge as interpretated by both men and women, before concluding with some brief comments on those ways in which gendered interpretations of the challenge differed.

Education was the most frequently cited option for improving one's life circumstances. However there was general agreement that becoming educated was a formidable task, fraught with difficulty. The greatest obstacle was money, with education requiring high levels of financial sacrifice by one's family. Seven girls and 11 boys said that their attempts to become educated were being hindered by their families' lack of money to finance school fees, uniforms, transport costs and school books.

In addition to financial backing, school success also required a high degree of determination.

> "A scholar is someone who does not give in easily when he realises that the going is tough, and someone who shows a lot of courage and will regarding his school work." (M1)

The determination required to in school required both diligence, effort ('studying hard'), and persistence in the face of failure. The experience of failing a year or more of schooling was common. Furthermore the matriculation examination was seen as an extremely difficult hurdle, one that would not be cleared without dogged persistence. Five of the young women were re-writing their matric exams for example. F1 and F14 had taken this option because they had got low 'standard grade' passes which precluded the possibility of getting into the local Technikon (F14's aim) or entering the police force (F1's aim). F16 said she had failed her matric exam three times and was about to re-write for the fourth time. She persisted despite her fear that she lacked scholastic ability.

> "I worry a lot about succeeding with my education. I have written my matric three times, and never passed it. I fear that perhaps my problem is that I am not too bright." (F16)

No informant felt that the effort to become educated would be unrewarded. Education would enable one to "move away from the slum areas" (M19). An educated person would not be forced to take a menial job "where white people can fire you very quickly" (M3) and would be able to look forward to a better life than the older generation "who were just looking after cows" (M6) when they were the age of the informants. Due to lack of money or the unavailability of schooling the older generation had not had the chance to improve themselves in this way, and youth often referred to the importance of making the most of the opportunities that they had.

> "Father lacked the opportunity that I have for getting educated. As an uneducated person he has always struggled to get jobs." (F3)

> "All you needed in those days was to learn how to write your name. After mother had learned that, her father took her out of school to work at home." (F5)

Education was cited as a source of pride and dignity in a community where poverty severely limited the opportunities for poor families to attain respect or status.

> "It is a major contribution for someone coming from a poor family to serve his community, especially the community that used to despise him because of the conditions of his family ... this is the way I will prove myself in the community (when I become a doctor) ... I will not despise them, but serve them and they will feel ashamed to see themselves served by somebody whom they never thought would be able to step higher than them." (M14)

The phrase 'without education you are nothing' was cited by a number of informants. Even people whose life circumstances appeared to preclude the chances of them finishing school were often reluctant to dissociate themselves from the EDUCATED grouping. M18, for example, was 22 years old at the time of the interviews. He had been forced to leave school when the last of his crippled mother's life savings rang out, and it seemed extremely unlikely that he would return to school. Despite this he insisted on describing himself as a "scholar".

> "I still regard myself as a scholar in the true sense. I just feel that my education has been interrupted." (M18)

M10 also, who had not attended any schooling whatsoever, and who eked out a difficult existence as a street hawker, spoke of his dream to one day attend night school and become educated.

Education was seen as a source of pride and self-esteem, and uneducated people were characterised in derogatory terms such as "hoboes" (M11), who were destined to live in "houses made of planks and tin" (M19) and were characterised as "stupid" (M3). Education gave individuals access to material benefits such as money, and the promise of "a future where you can eat" (M5). Informants commented that educated people had access to 'easier jobs', comparing them to the physical demands of the manual work undertaken by uneducated people. The lives of educated people were stereotyped in glowing terms.

> "Educated people have everything they want." (F14)
>
> "If you are educated you have no problems." (F15)

Educated people were also portrayed as having control over their lives and their destinies.

> "If you have an education you are able to sit down and plan your life, plan how you would like to go about it." (F20)

"Educated people are those who know what they want in life." (F13)

Education gave one the opportunity to rise above the drudgery of the day-to-day struggles of survival that preoccupied many working class families, enabling one to focus one's energies on higher issues such as the quest for excellence.

> "The quest for education is the quest for civilisation, and the quest to excel. In fact this is a way of life. It is a prerequisite that one should be educated if one wants to live a good life." (M1)

Having commented on some of the general features of this challenge, we now turn to look at the gendered differences in its interpretation. The option that was specific to females was that of regarding education as one's top priority in life. This challenge was specifically related to the need for young women to choose between education and their boyfriends with the associated risks of pregnancy and school drop-out. Young men, immune to the risks of pregnancy, did not mention this option. Two options were mentioned only by young men. The first was that of seeing school attendance as an important way of 'keeping out of trouble', in other words avoiding involvement in crime, which was a more central issue for men than for women (see Section 6.1). The second was that of regarding education as an important prerequisite for political effectiveness. The fact that this was an exclusively male option is consistent with the greater degree of political involvement by young men than by young women (see Section 6.18).

Group memberships

The group membership most frequently associated with this challenge by both males and females was that of EDUCATED. This section has already discussed a range of positive features associated with this group membership, including enhanced social status, increased freedom of choice over the course of one's life and improved standard of living.

> "People who are motivated to become educated are those who want the best out of life ... they want big houses, fancy cars, money and success." (F19)

Informants drew a sharp contrast between the EDUCATED and the UNEDUCATED. F14 told the following anecdote while outlining the contrast between educated and uneducated people.

> "I have three friends, a teacher, an insurance salesman and a policeman, who grew up in the rural area. Their parents sent them to school and punished them

> when they would not go. Those young boys looking after cattle would chase them and throw stones at them, saying: 'Why go to school when you could have a better time looking after cattle?'. My friends would run away from these boys. Now they are working in good jobs and earning money. The others are just labourers, they don't earn much money and they live in shacks. Yet they are the ones who threw stones at the scholars, and laughed at them for going to school." (F14)

The EDUCATED group was frequently constrasted with the UNEDUCATED out-groups of DROP-OUTS, UNEMPLOYED, TEENAGE MOTHERS and WORKERS. Each of these group memberships was considered inferior to the EDUCATED grouping. DROP-OUTS and the UNEMPLOYED were stereotyped as 'always being in trouble', bowed down by poverty, and dissolute, 'wasting time drinking and doing other bad things'.

> "I am better off than the dropouts in the community. I am progressing. They are not." (F18)

TEENAGE MOTHERS were referred to as those who had 'ruined their chances of a bright future' through early pregnancy that had forced them to leave school. F10, who had been fortunate enough to be able to return to school after the birth of her baby, said she had gone to elaborate lengths to hide the reason for her period of absence from school from her classmates and teachers, saying that many of them might have looked down on her if they had known about her predicament.

> "Friends or teachers may laugh at you becoming pregnant and later coming back to school, and you might feel embarrassed or ashamed ... (Why do they laugh?) Perhaps they think it is foolish to get pregnant while you are still at school. They look down on girls who fall pregnant." (F10)

WORKERS (unskilled labourers or domestic workers) were also regarded as inferior to educated people. In the case of members of the older generation, informants were usually understanding of their plight, pointing to the poverty and lack of opportunity that had characterised their early days, as well as the bias that had existed against girls spending too long at school. There was general agreement however that unskilled people had little social status in the community, as well as little control over their lives, and a greater chance of carrying the burdens of poverty.

In short, membership of the EDUCATED group was almost always presented in glowing terms. Only one informant referred to any disadvantages associated with the group membership of EDUCATED. This was F19, the only young person in her area to have been accepted into university. While she spoke at lengths about the benefits of education, and her plans for the future, she also referred to the fact that many of the

young women in her area were extremely unkind to her, a situation she found very hurtful. Only one informant spoke of the possibility of success without education. Having left school after falling pregnant during her Standard 9 year, F8 had established herself in an extremely profitable home business perming the hair of women in the area. She said that her lack of education had not been a disadvantage.

"You can do without education as long as you use your mind." (F8)

Summary

Sixteen women and 11 men were actively involved in the pursuit of education. They, as well as most of the other informants, spoke of education as the key to a 'bright future'. Membership of the EDUCATED grouping promised informants access to enhanced quality of life, social status and the power to exercise control over their lives. The pursuit of education was fraught with obstacles however, and informants commented that success depended on a high degree of effort and the persistence even in the face of repeated failure.

6.10 Adaptative challenge 10

Planning for the future: family life

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To plan to try to uplift one's own family of origin*[27] (Y=16)
2. *To intend to marry* (Y=8,N=4,ambivalent=3)
3. *To plan to try to give one's children as many material comforts as possible* (Y=8)

MALES

1. *To intend to marry* (Y=15,N=1)
2. *To plan to try to uplift one's own family of origin* (Y=10)
3. *To plan to try to give one's children as many material comforts as possible* (Y=10)
4. To feel very pessimistic about the future (Y=4)

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27 'Family of origin' refers to parents and siblings (or grandparents and siblings for those subjects whose parents were dead).

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Young women devoted a significantly greater proportion of responses to this challenge than young men (see Figure 6.2). The number of female responses was boosted by the fact that (a) more women than men spoke of responsibilities to their families of origin, and (b) more women than men entered into debate about the desirability of marriage. Four young men expressed a sense of pessimism about their future, an option not listed for young women.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=177); Family 118 (67%); Miscellaneous* 29 (16%).

Males: (n=99); Family 58 (59%); Miscellaneous* 28 (28%); Educated/scholar 14 (14%).

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was boosted by the group membership of PROFESSIONAL PERSON (i.e. someone with a job requiring post-school training).

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included responses relating to informants' plans for their personal family life, in relation to both their families of origin (parents/grandparents and siblings) as well as their own future families (their future children and possibly spouses).

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

In the often disrupted township environment the family was often the prime source of stability and security for informants. With regard to families of origin, youth expressed a deep sense of appreciation for their parents, who had often made many personal sacrifices for their children. This sense of commitment led many young people to hope that one day they would be able to repay their parents for these sacrifices. Even when such a sense of sacrifice and obligation did not exist however, informants appeared to feel strong ties of loyalty to and responsibility for their parents and siblings, taking for

granted that it was the duty of family members to help each other to survive and progress as much as possible. In a family-centred community, plans for one's family of the future were also an important issue for informants.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

Responses associated with this challenge were associated with three issues: the decision to marry, plans for one's future family (one's own future offspring and possibly a spouse) and plans for one's family of origin (parents and siblings). This section will focus on each of these matters in turn. Women devoted a significantly greater proportion of their responses to this challenge than men, consistent with the tendency for women to be more concerned with factors relating to home and hearth than their male counterparts. However this was also due to the fact that women devoted more attention to debating the desirability of marriage than men.

The option of marriage was more contentious for women than men. Fifteen of the 16 men referring to this option said they intended to marry, without entering into any debate on this issue.

> "When I think of the future I see myself as a grown up old man with a united family, and I have a good job to support them and enjoy my life." (M20)

The only man who stated he might not choose to marry (M13) explained his choice in terms of the demands of political struggle. He said these precluded the most dedicated activists from devoting time to personal issues such as wives and children. He already had one child, but said that he was too busy with his political activities to spend any time with it. However he did regard the child as an important affirmation of his masculinity.

> "I like my baby very much, because it means that I am a man. When I was in (police) detention my testicles were severely hurt (under torture) and I thought I would never have children. I remember the frustrating thing when I came out of detention of being totally impotent." (M13)

Not one of the male informants expressed any criticisms of the institution of matrimony in itself, or mentioned any ways in which they regarded husbands as disadvantaged. Of the 15 women who mentioned the option of marriage, seven referred to the disadvantages that marriage presented to women. Four said unequivocally that they would never marry. Three were undecided. A range of factors were put forward for questioning marriage. The first of these was the way in which many husbands allegedly

attempted to restrict their wives, telling them how to behave, and sometimes by preventing them from working.

> "There are too many rules in marriage." (F17)
>
> "Husbands try and stop you looking for work." (F6)

Husbands were also said to beat and scold their wives; to neglect them, often in favour of other women; and to fail to give them adequate money for the family's needs. Even those women who were in favour of marriage implied that not all women were lucky enough to find a good husband.

> "A good husband is one who does not drink beer. He does not hit his wife, or scold her, or throw her out of the house. He gives her everything she wants." (F2)

However eight women expressed a firm commitment to marriage.

> "(What are your ambitions for the future?) I would like to get married. I must get married." (F13)

Turning to options relating to informants' future families, in outlining the lives they wanted for their children, both men and women defined these lives in contradistinction to their own deprived childhoods.

> "My children must have a better life than I have. I have had to sweat for everything. All I have achieved I have struggled to get. I hope they will have an easier life." (F14)
>
> "I want to be able to give my son money to go to the university - and perhaps he will have more education than I have managed to get." (M17)

M8, who had spent part of his childhood living with abusive relatives when his mother was unable to support him, spoke of the pain of his parents' separation, and his resolve never to subject his children to the traumatic effects of such a split. M7 commented that unlike his own father who had abandoned the family, he would be a "tolerant" man who provided for his family's needs.

Informants spoke of their desire to provide their future families with big and beautiful homes which were well-furnished and comfortable. Money would be necessary for this bright future, and that married couples should use their money wisely. F20 said that a married couple should set aside savings each month in case one spouse died.

> "Families must always save money for hard times." (F20)

Several men and women referred to the importance of choosing a spouse who was educated or a 'professional person', suggesting that such a spouse would increase their future family's chances of material comfort and success.

> "It is important to plan the future with an educated woman." (M6)

Sixteen women and ten men referred to their hopes for the future of their families of origin (parents and siblings). They expressed the wish that one day they would see their parents and siblings in more comfortable circumstances, that their overcrowded homes might one day be expanded and filled with new furniture, and that their siblings might finish school and get good jobs, and "all they have been struggling for" (F2).

> "I would like to see my parents living in a luxurious house, and being happy." (M12)

Some informants said their parents had pinned their hopes on them, dreaming that the informants might become educated and provide a route out of the family's poverty. F3 for example, the third child of seven, said she was the first in the history of the family to reach the final year of school. Her parents continually told her that she would be the one to save them from poverty. She reported that she was repeating the final year of school because she had suffered from such severe headaches in the previous year that she had been unable to sit her examinations.

Four young men expressed extreme pessimism about the future. M10, unemployed and uneducated, referred frequently to his "sorrows and worries".

> "When I think about my future, I feel very bad, because I look at my problems and worry and see no solution to them at all." (M10)

At the time of the interview one of his major concerns was his desire to marry his girlfriend, and his inability to do so because he did not have money for lobola. He referred to the possibility of trying to "negotiate terms" with his future parents in law, but doubted that they would accept this idea. M8 said that since he had had so few opportunities in life, he had no hope for the future. M18 said the same, ascribing his situation to being a black person.

> "Its a great disadvantage to be black. It hinders your chances of having a bright future." (M18)

M15, also poorly educated and unemployed, looked gloomily ahead to the day when his mother (his only source of support) would die and there would be no one to help him. This pessimism was not a common feature of the girls' interviews.

Group memberships

Predictably, given the focus of this challenge on informants' future plans for their families, the group membership of FAMILY was most commonly associated with both male and female responses to this challenge. Other associated group memberships included MISCELLANEOUS, boosted by the membership PROFESSIONAL PERSON, as well as EDUCATED, both groups being associated with earning the money that informants regarded as the path to a bright family future.

Summary

This challenge included informants' accounts of the future they hoped for for their families, both their families of origin, and the future families they hoped to set up as adults. While girls devoted a significantly larger proportion of responses to this challenge, on the whole the list of options associated with this challenge by boys and girls were similar, although a larger number of girls referred to obligations to their families of origin, and there was evidence for a greater tendency by girls to question the institution of marriage than their male counterparts.

6.11 Adaptative challenge 11

Planning for the future: occupation

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To dream of completing some form of post-school training and getting a good job, as opposed to dropping out and becoming an unskilled worker or a housewife* (Y=17,N=3)

   Career options mentioned: teacher 5; social worker 4; nurse 3; policewoman 3; hairdresser, medical doctor, fashion designer, public relations officer, radiographer, advocate, actress, clerk, bank employee, receiver of revenue employee, musician.

2. Reasons offered for career plans

a) *To desire to uplift the community* (Y=11)

b) To feel one's career choices constrained by factors outside one's control, especially money (Y=10)

c) To be influenced by role models of successful women (Y=8)

d) *To aim to make one's parents proud of one's achievements in the future* (Y=7)

e) To be constrained by poor marks achieved so far (Y=4)
f) To feel temperamentally suited for particular jobs (Y=4)
g) To feel attracted to the uniform worn by a particular profession (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To dream of completing some form of post-school training, and getting a good job, as opposed to dropping out and becoming an unskilled worker* (Y=13,N=7)
   Career options mentioned: Labourer (Y=5,N=2); Teaching (Y=4,N=2); Law 4; Electrician 3; policeman 3; doctor 2; actor; artist; marketing manager; clerk; journalist; nurse; criminal.

2. Reasons offered for career plans
a) *To desire to uplift the community* (Y=10)
b) To know someone in that particular job (Y=6)
c) *To aim to make one's parents proud of one's achievements in the future* (Y=5)

3. To be unable to find a job, despite energetic job-seeking (Y=8)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

There was no significant difference in the proportion of responses devoted to this challenge by boys and girls (see Figure 6.2). With regard to the interpretation of the challenge, the most striking gender-specific option was that of being a housewife and child-minder, an option available only to girls and not to boys. While this option was not highly regarded by women, it did give them an option to 'fall back on' if their career and educational plans did not bear fruit. None of the (unemployed) young mothers in the samples referred to themselves in terms of the UNEMPLOYED category, or spoke at any length about job-hunting. In contrast, all eight of the unemployed young men, who did not have access to the housewife or childminder options, referred to themselves as unemployed, and spoke at length of their unsuccessful struggles to find work.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=177); Miscellaneous* 53 (30%); Gender roles 49 (28%); Family 25 (14%); Lover 17; Younger generation 13; Comrades 12.

Males: (n=127); Miscellaneous* 65 (51%); Family 12 (9%).

* MISCELLANEOUS category for both men and women was weighted by the group membership of PROFESSIONAL PERSON. In the case of young men, this category also contained the group membership of the UNEMPLOYED.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This option referred to informants' accounts of their future career plans, including the range of careers they were considering, the reasons for these choices, and the factors that would promote or hinder them in pursuit of these choices.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

The question of future occupation was closely linked to the subjects' educational ambitions, with the hope of success in education being linked to the possibility of following a 'professional career'. This term was used to refer to any career that required post-school training, and thus included a range of technical occupations (e.g. electrician, clerk) as well as a range of university-trained professions (e.g. medicine, law). A professional career offered informants and their families a way out of the hardship and poverty of working class township life. With the limited opportunities for post-school training available to youth, and the shortage of jobs, obstacles in the way of achievement of this prize were severe.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

Broadly speaking respondents of both genders were faced with two options. The first involved successfully completing their education, getting a job and having a 'bright future'. The second involved dropping out of school, and a) becoming a housewife (an option available only to women), or b) an unskilled worker, or c) a member of the large number of township unemployed. Each of these possibilities is discussed in turn in this section.

Informants were vociferous in stressing the benefits of education and a good job. F20, who had been forced to leave school in Standard 9 due to lack of money, and was currently sitting at home hoping that her boyfriend would one day be able to raise enough money for her to go back to school, said that her quest for education would never end.

> "I will not stop my education once I have become a nurse. After this I will continue to study, studying even further ..." (F20)

Four of the informants had made significant progress in their career goals, in the sense that they had already passed their matriculation examinations, and were proceeding with some form of post-school qualifications. M12 was studying at a Teachers' Training College. M19 was busy with an on-the-job apprenticeship as an electrician, simultaneously studying at home at night through a correspondence training school. F19 had been accepted into the University of Cape Town, where she intended to study law. She was the only informant who had managed to escape the disadvantages of state education for blacks. Her domestic worker mother and labourer father had made massive sacrifices to keep her at one of the few existing church-funded boarding school for black girls, where she had obtained a matriculation exemption that qualified her for university entrance. She had raised a bank loan to finance her first year of study, but been told that if she passed her first year of university study she would be guaranteed a bursary. F8, who had not finished school, had set herself up in a successful home hairdressing business.

These were the only four respondents who had formulated their career goals very clearly. The other respondents were at various stages of their schooling, rewriting their matriculation exams, or waiting for career opportunities to arise, and appeared to have very little knowledge regarding possible careers and necessary training for them. Interview material on career choices emphasised the impoverishment of the social environment in which the informants lived. Schools offer little career guidance and working class parents are often not in touch with the modern career world. Youth have limited opportunities or tools for the identification or assessment of their interests or talents, and little knowledge of openings in the job market. Living in a township community some distance from the city centre, with high transport costs, many informants had had little first-hand familiarity with the range of jobs available to young people

While each subject unhesitatingly referred to the career of his or her choice, few had a clear idea of what was involved in the career they referred to.

> "(What are your ambitions for the future?) I want to be a clerk. (What attracts you to this profession?) (Long pause) I can't say exactly what, but I know that you learn lots of things (?) Like writing. (What sort of writing?) I wouldn't know what writing you do since I have never been a clerk, but I know there is lots of writing to do. (Where did you get the idea of becoming a clerk from?) I just heard about this job from people - but I myself have never been to an office to see what the job is." (F2)

Often young people had a rudimentary idea of how to make career choices, but were unable to apply these ideas to their own lives.

> "(Why do you want to be a policewoman?) Because I have done the necessary school subjects. (What are these?) I'm not sure, but I think my subjects will be suitable." (F1)

In cases where people had made enquiries about job prospects through letters or phone calls, they had not always succeeded in getting the information they sought. F1 had written to the police force 13 months prior to the interview, and was still waiting for a reply to her enquiry, for example.

Besides lack of information and guidance in the process of identifying their interests and talents, and pursuing a career consistent with these, informants were also hampered by a range of other obstacles in their career plans. The most common of these was money. Another was attaining a good enough matriculation examination pass to gain access to post-school training.

> "I want to be a policewoman because the training is quick and my mother is already getting to old to work to support us. Also it is a career that is easier than many others to get into." (F1)

> "I want to be a teacher because teachers training college is cheaper than university." (F11)

> "Public relations is my second choice because I didn't get high enough marks to go the the university." (F14)

The first alternative to a bright future through education and a good job, namely that of dropping out of school due to pregnancy, was seen as an option that would put an end to all chances of a woman's 'bright future'. In fact this was not the case for two of the young mothers in the sample (F2 and F10) who had been able to return to school after the birth of their babies, which their own mothers had taken responsibility for. In fact, F2 said that the birth of the baby had not altered her life in any way at all.

> "In fact its as if he is my mother's child. She likes him particularly because he is a boy, and she did not have her own boys." (F2)

F7, F8 and F9 had not had this opportunity, all having to leave school when their babies were born. F7 said the birth of her baby had closed the door on her dreams.

> "I feel very unsure about my chances of finding a job ... since I have no education." (F7)

F6 commented that the only employment prospect for uneducated young mothers was to "work for other Africans, doing their babysitting and so on". She regarded this as a less than desirable option.

Dropping out of school and becoming a housewife was seen as an extremely bad investment for the future.

> "Where will your food come from if you do this?" (F13)
>
> "Such women are very short-sighted. What will happen to them if their husbands die?" (F1)

Despite the fact that the option of housekeeping and childminding was not regarded enthusiastically by young women, it was socially acceptable. For this reason none of the three young mothers in the sample (all of whom were unemployed) referred to themselves as unemployed. Staying at home with a baby was an acceptable 'occupation' in itself for a young woman. This was not the case for the eight unemployed young men, all of whom identified themselves as members of the UNEMPLOYED grouping, and spoke in detail of their usually unsuccessful and rather desperate struggles to find work, a point that will be discussed below.

Besides becoming a housewife, another option available to school drop-outs of both genders was that of becoming an unskilled worker, such as a domestic worker or factory labourer. This was regarded as an extremely undesirable option. Informants said that such work did not pay enough to adequately support a family; it often involved long hours; domestic workers were often required to work late at night with no compensation; and both domestic and labouring work were strenuous and exhausting.

> "If you look at factory workers you often find that they are tired ... and also slight and thin." (F15)
>
> "I was not happy in this (temporary construction site) work. People who do this job used to get old very quickly ... the work is very heavy ... the cement used to get into peoples' noses and create diseases." (M7)

More politicised informants expressed concern about the way in which workers were abused by their white bosses. M12 said he would not consider working in a factory because he could not tolerate "a boss breathing down my neck, and ordering me around in a humiliating way" (M12). M13 said he would never work in the factory that employed his father because of the powerlessness of workers in a situation "where there is no union protecting the workers, and where conditions of work are poor" (M13).

Despite the poor conditions facing unskilled workers, seven of the unemployed young men had resigned themselves to the fact that with their lack of education, unskilled work was the only option available to them. However not one of these were working at the time of the interviews, despite many attempts to find work. M10 for example was currently trying to make a living as a street hawker, having given up hope of finding regular work:

> "I used to go to factories and find more than 200 people waiting at the gate for work ... Eventually people like us lose interest. We see there are so many people like us not working and that it seems impossible to get a job." (M10)

He said that it was impossible to find a job in a factory without bribing someone in control, or without having an "inside contact" to assist one. He had neither contacts, nor access to bribe money. M7 (who had worked on a construction site in the past) told a similar story.

> "I spend a lot of time looking for work, virtually every day. I stand at the gates of factories. But I see there are no jobs, and I am still unemployed ... this makes me feel very heavy." (M7)

Group memberships

The group membership of MISCELLANEOUS was most frequently associated with this challenge by both men and women. This category was boosted by the grouping of PROFESSIONAL PERSON, a category that all the youth struggling to finish their education aspired to. In the case of males it was also boosted by the grouping of the UNEMPLOYED. Eight of the young men in the sample regarded themselves as active (though unsuccessful) work-seekers, and regretted their involuntary membership of the UNEMPLOYED category. FAMILY membership was also associated with this option, with many families looking to the eventual employment of their members in professional careers as their only lifeline out of the their deprived daily lives.

> "My parents would be very proud if I were to become a teacher. This is because they themselves had no opportunity to help the community." (F10)

> "My mother urges me to become a teacher. She says that I must be a professional if I want to have a bright future." (F16)

The group membership of GENDER was frequently associated with this challenge by young women in particular. In relation to this challenge, and in marked contrast to other challenges (where the GENDER category offered women a range of limiting female options, consistent with the image of women as submissive to men and

dependent on them), the challenge of PLANNING A FUTURE: OCCUPATION presented women with the possibility of finanical independence from men, and the possibility of defining their gendered roles in a more empowering way. This point will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Summary

The PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE: OCCUPATION category presented youth with the option of education, followed by employment in a professional job, and the possibility of uplifting oneself, ones family and the community. This challenge provided women in particular with the additional possibility of economic independence from men, and a redefinition of their gender roles in a more empowered way. A range of obstacles stood in the way of the career ambitions of township youth however. Those who were unable to attain their educational and career ambitions were faced with the less desirable options of becoming housewives (women only), unskilled workers, or joining the ranks of the unemployed work-seekers. In the face of disappointment in their career or educational goals women always had the options of housekeeping and childminding to fall back on, options that were not available to men. Group memberships most frequently associated with this challenge were MISCELLANEOUS (PROFESSIONAL PERSON, UNEMPLOYED), the FAMILY and GENDER (the latter by women only).

6.12 Adaptative challenge 12

Networking: mobilising educational assistance

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To mobilise encouragement in studies* (Y=18)
2. *To mobilise help with concrete study problems* (Y=10)
   Sources of help/encouragement: parents 13; fellow scholars 9; friends 8; boyfriends 5; libraries 3.

MALES

1. *To mobilise help with concrete study problems* (Y=12)
2. *To mobilise encouragement in studies* (Y=10)
3. To mobilise encouragement to try and return to school after dropping out (Y≥4)
   Sources of help/encouragement: fellow scholars 8; parents 8; brothers 4.

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Women devoted significantly more responses to this challenge than men (see 6.3), but there were no striking gendered differences in the interpretation of it.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=114); Family 52 (46%); Educated/scholar 23 (20%); Friends 21 (18%).

Males: (n=61); Family 21 (34%); Educated/scholar 18 (30%); Friends 11 (18%).

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included (i) responses relating to any form of moral support or encouragement available to informants in the task of trying to further their studies, and (ii) all accounts of scholarly assistance available to them to help with concrete study problems.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

For many township youth and their parents, education is seen as their only hope of improving the quality of their own and their family's lives, and the key to 'having a bright future'. There is a tremendous range of pressures on scholars to pass their exams. The cards are stacked against them in a variety of ways: school facilities are often inadequate; high school studies are conducted in English (which many youth are unable to speak); overcrowded and poorly lit homes provide scant homework opportunities; young women are burdened by household chores, particularly if they have working mothers; schooling is sometimes disrupted for months or even years by boycotts. Failure rates are extremely high. Nearly every informant said s/he had failed at least one, but often two years of schooling. These are only a few of the myriad disadvantages facing scholars. Appendix A.1 expands on some of these problems. Against this background scholars need all the emotional assistance they can get, as well as any extra 'tutoring' or advice on particular study problems.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

The fact that women devoted significantly more responses to this challenge is linked to the fact that 16 women as opposed to 12 men in the sample were still pursuing the goal of education in some form or another (schooling, re-writing matric or pursuing tertiary training), as opposed to having given up hope of succeeding in this goal. This is consistent with the fact that there are more young women than men in black South African high schools (Appendix A.1).

There was general agreement that schoolwork was arduous and demanding. It was often referred to in the context of 'the struggle for education', with the term 'struggle' being used to denote extreme difficulty rather than in its revolutionary sense. Moral support and encouragement provided a valuable spur to persist in the inevitable periods of despondency that faced scholars during the course of their school careers. This included encouragement to try again when exams were failed, to strive to finish school, and if possible to gain some post-school education.

Often conditions at home were not conducive to study. One subject (M5) spoke of the problems he had studying at his house where his mother ran a shabeen in the evenings:

> "It is too noisy to study when the house is full of drinkers. I try sometimes and go to sleep at 6pm, and wake at midnight to study when the drinkers have done." (M5)

Informants spoke of the usefulness of doing homework with other scholars, and discussing schoolwork with friends wherever possible. A number of people referred to informal study groups that scholars set up. These groups might meet on weekends, and consist for example of "three strong scholars and two weak ones" (F15). More talented scholars, and scholars in higher classes, were considered an invaluable resource by their less successful counterparts.

F6 referred to the stumbling block of unhelpful teachers. Not all teachers were sympathetic to struggling pupils:

> "Sometimes if you are unlucky you get a bad teacher who does not like to help. One teacher would explain nothing to me. Whenever I asked her to repeat something she would tell me she was not a gramophone." (F6)

Group memberships

The FAMILY was the greatest source of encouragement to both men and women. Struggling parents invested a great deal of hope and money in trying to get their

offspring through the school system, sometimes regarding this as the only key to the family's future. Parents trapped low on the social hierarchy by their own lack of education yearned to give their children the opportunities in life that they had lacked. M1 for example cited his uneducated father as his greatest source of encouragement in his studies:

> "My father has little education and works as a driver in a factory. He gives me great encouragement in my studies." (M1)

The group memberships of EDUCATED and FRIENDS were also commonly associated with this challenge, with fellow scholars and friends serving as the greatest source of help with concrete study problems.

Summary

The mobilising of educational assistance, both in the form of moral support and help with study problems, was an important challenge for youth struggling to become educated in order to improve their and their families' lives. The FAMILY was the group memberships most commonly associated with moral support, with the groupings of EDUCATED and FRIENDS being associated with concrete educational assistance.

6.13 Adaptative challenge 13
Networking: mobilising emotional and spiritual support

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To mobilise support from significant others* (Y=14)
   Sources of support: boyfriend 6; mother 4; family in general 4.

2. *Spiritual support from church*

a) *To go to church* (Y=19)
   Motivated by: faith 8; habit 5; go very seldom 6.

b) *To derive strength from church attendance* (Y=8)

c) *To derive particular comfort from prayer* (Y=6)

d) To feel uplifted by the singing in church (Y=5)

e) *To strive to recruit new church members and spread the church's teachings* (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To mobilise support from significant others* (Y=14)
   Sources of support: Friends 10; Family in general 10; Mother 6; girlfriend 4; fellow scholars 4.[28]

2. *Spiritual support from church*

a) *To go to church* (Y=5,seldom=2,N=3)
b) *To derive strength from church attendance* (Y=5)
c) *To derive particular comfort from prayer* (Y=5)
d) *To recruit church members and spread the church's teaching* (Y=4)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Women devoted a marginally greater proportion of their responses to this challenge than men (see Figure 6.3). The number of women's responses was boosted by the fact that a greater number of women (19) attended church than men (7), with responses relating to church attendance forming a large proportion of these. There were no striking gendered differences in the options associated with this challenge.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=178); Church 77 (43%); Family 40 (22%); Educated/scholar 14 (8%); Comrades 14 (8%); Miscellaneous 12.

Males: (n=154); Family 50 (32%); Church 50 (32%); Friends 21 (14%) Miscellaneous 14.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge referred to the mobilising of (i) emotional love and support from significant others in times of happiness, as well as times distress, and (ii) spiritual support from church attendance.

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28 The reader is again reminded that the number of subjects cited in a detailed breakdown of this nature may sometimes be larger than the number of subjects that referred to a particular option. This will be because subjects sometimes referred to more than one source of support for example.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

Subjects mobilised emotional and spiritual support in a wide range of situations. These included happy times (e.g. birthdays) as well as difficult times (e.g. bereavement, detention of a family member, unemployment).

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

Women devoted a greater proportion of responses to this challenge than men. The most obvious gendered difference was the relatively large number of women who went to church (19 females as opposed seven males). Of these churchgoers eight females and two males said that they attended church out of a deep sense of religious commitment.

> "I go to church to store up treasures in heaven, and as the Bible tells us to train to enter God's kingdom." (M11)

Others attended church for a range of other reasons: they enjoyed singing hymns, or were forced by their parents, or simply followed a life-long habit of attending, or only attended at particular crisis times in their lives when they particularly needed the benefits of prayer.

> "When you are sick, or writing exams, it helps to pray in church." (F5)

> "I go to church because my uncle is a lay preacher and he scolds me into going - but I am happier staying at home ironing or studying. I get sleepy in the long sermon, and get very bored if there is no singing in the service." (F17)

In general informants believed that church membership served as a good influence on a young person's behaviour ("Believers are generally better behaved." F13), as well as having a comforting effect on the troubled ("I like listening to the sermons. They calm all my worries." F14).

Several subjects connected church attendance with the necessity of wearing smart clothes:

> "Some girls just go to church to show off their clothes." (F13)

> "I very seldom go to church because I have no clothes to wear." (M15)

The more devout informants emphasised the importance of spreading the church's message in the community. One young man (M4) drew on his religious beliefs in interpreting current events. He spent a long time during the interview elaborately

outlining the way in which the Bible had prophesied events in South Africa, such as the necklace killings, the burning of houses and so forth. He argued that these events were an important aspect of "God's plan", and that there was a religious meaning behind the suffering.

F6 commented that her Catholic church's practice of confession of sins served as a modern replacement for the traditional custom of slaughtering goats when one had sinned.

> "In the olden days when one had made a sin, someone would take a sheep or a goat and kill it, making a sacrifice to the Lord, asking for forgiveness for what they had done. But now with the problem of money you cannot do that. What you can do though it to go to church and confess your sins as a way of asking for forgiveness." (F6)

References to the family within this challenge almost invariably referred either to 'parents' or to 'mothers' as support figures.

> "Mother has suffered for my problems, and gives me great moral support." (M13)

Only one person, F20, explicitly mentioned her father as a source of support and comfort. She praised him for raising the family single-handed after her mother's early death. In other cases fathers were infrequently referred to, and then often only in a negative sense. Several people referred sadly or bitterly to fathers who had left home when they were young, maintaining minimal contact with their children.

Family relationships were frequently cited as a metaphor for emotionally supportive relationships in general.

> "A good scholar takes the teacher as her parent and her fellow scholars as her brothers and sisters. (What does this mean?) This means that as scholars we can solve each others' problems, and offer each other comfort. Also it means that if I have a problem at home I must be able to tell the teacher, who must try to do what they can to help." (F10)

Several men also dwelt at length on the role played by their friends as sources of moral support and companionship:

> "Sipho is very encouraging to me and supportive. He is the only one who shouts at me and says: 'Go out and look for work! Don't just sit around like this'. He visits my house, and wakes me up early and says: 'You can't just sleep like this if you are a man. You must get up early if you are a man'." (M15)

> "My friends encourage me not to lose perseverence in doing things, and not to be a loser (?) They are encouraging me to try my very best to study by correspondence, and not to end up being a labourer." (M6)

Only one subject spoke negatively of his family in relation to emotional support. This was M15, who spoke very sorrowfully of his lack of education and inability to get a job, and of the conflict this had cause between him and his family.

> "At home I don't respect anyone because I don't get food from them or moral support ... sometimes we get on well but sometimes they shout at me ... sometimes when I am asleep I just think that perhaps these are not my real parents - that they just adopted me. Every time I try to put a point across they just say: You are drunk - go away *Skoteni* and don't talk to us. (?) A *Skoteni* is someone who is not staying with his real family or in his own house. Someone who is not looking after himself ... who doesn't wash and who stays in the bushes." (M15)

Group memberships

The CHURCH and FAMILY were most frequently associated with this option by men and women. FRIENDS were also regarded as an important source of moral support by men in particular.

Summary

Women devoted a larger proportion of responses to the challenge of mobilising emotional and spiritual support, with female responses being boosted by the fact that many more women than men were church-goers. However there were no striking differences in males' and females' interpretation of this challenge. The FAMILY and the CHURCH were the groupings most frequently associated with meeting this challenge by both men and women.

6.14 Adaptative challenge 14

Networking: Having fun

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To spend leisure time with friends* (Y=13)
2. *To spend leisure time with a boyfriend* (Y=11)
3. To derive pleasure from spending time in church (Y=8)
4. To enjoy listening to music (Y=6)
5. To enjoy shopping (Y=6)
6. To enjoy family parties (Y=4)
7. To enjoy watching TV or not (Y=4)
8. *To spend leisure time with family members* (Y=4)
9. To play sport (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To spend leisure time with friends* (Y=12)
2. To play sport (Y=9)
3. *To enjoy general social activities with one's sporting peers* (Y=7)
4. To gamble (Y=7)
5. To enjoy watching and participating in Phantsula dancing (Y=6)
6. *To spend leisure time with family members* (Y=6)
7. *To spend leisure time with a girlfriend* (Y=5)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Girls devoted a marginally greater proportion of their responses to this challenge than boys (see Figure 6.3). Apart from the options of shopping and sport, female leisure activities were often conducted at their own homes, or in the homes of friends, under the watchful eye of their own or their friends' family members. Otherwise they were conducted in the company of their boyfriends. In comparison boys' leisure activities often took them away from their homes and involved them in activities quite unrelated to their families or their lovers, such as sports activities, gambling and Phantsula dancing.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=147); Friends 44 (30%); Urban 38 (26%); Lovers 16 (11%); Church 15 (10%); Family 14 (10%).

Males: (n=130); Miscellaneous* 55 (42%); Friends 44 (34%).

* MISCELLANEOUS weighted by MEMBERSHIP OF SPORTS CLUBS, GAMBLERS and PHANTSULA'S.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge consisted of all leisure activities engaged in for pleasure and relaxation that did not fit into any other categories. Most responses were elicited in direct response to interview questions asking people how they spent their time, and which of their leisure activities they found the most enjoyable.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

There was evidence for pressures on township youth (boys as well as girls, although the pressure on girls was greater) to stay at home as much as possible and to spend their free time with family members. The family was considered a safe haven where young people were least likely to get into trouble. Young people were faced with an increasing range of more commercialised and consumerist forms of entertainment (e.g. window shopping in city-centre malls), many of these provided outside the township where recreational facilities were minimal. The cost of seeking entertainment outside Umlazi was often beyond the reach of the average young person however, so few informants were in the position to take advantage of these opportunities.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

It has been noted that women devoted a marginally greater proportion of responses to this challenge than men. While this difference is consistent with the general tendency by informants to depict women as more frivolous and more concerned with 'having fun' than men (see Chapter 8), this difference is explained by the fact that several activities pursued by men in their spare time (e.g. political meetings, gambling, drinking) were categorised in other challenge categories (e.g. POLITICAL IDENTITY, ALCOHOL).

Spending time with peers was the most common leisure activity mentioned by both men and women.

> "I am happiest when I am with my friends, and we are together making jokes." (M16)

> "Everyone needs a friend to help you to enjoy yourself." (M19)

Young women almost invariably met at each others' houses. While young men also spent time at each others' houses, they also referred to a wider range of activities and venues. They met in places such as the streets, at sports grounds, or at political meetings. Some referred to hanging around the railway stations looking for girls. Young men made frequent references to telling jokes, laughing and teasing each other.

The predominant ways of passing time at the home of peers were talking and listening to music, either on the radio or cassette tapes, and in more fortunate houses watching television (several peoples' families did not have their own television set, but watched at the houses of friends or neighbours). One person (F15) commented ruefully that her friends did not like visiting her home because her family did not have a radio.

Soccer clubs provided important leisure opportunities for several young men, not only through playing soccer, but also through their organisation of a range of social activities for members.

> "On the weekend sometimes the soccer team *jols* (parties) together - they even sometimes organise nice activities for us, like going to Minitown." (M20)

Group memberships

Predictably the group membership of FRIENDS was frequently associated with this challenge by both young men and women. Apart from this similarity, however, a different range of group memberships was associated with female and male responses. The URBAN group was frequently associated with young womens' responses. Here this category represented the increased opportunities for 'fun' offered by the urban context, including shopping, fashionable clothes, modern music and pop stars, all of whom appeared to play an important role in the leisure activities of young women, and to feature as common interests amongst female peer groups. Girls' responses were also frequently associated with the groups of FAMILY, CHURCH and LOVERS. All three of these groupings encouraged young women to develop their leisure interests within the protected environments of their own home and family or the homes of their female friends (except for the LOVERS groupings (see Section 6.4 and 6.6) which influenced

women to sneak away from these safe havens, although only for the limited purposes of sexual liaisons). Boys' responses were most frequently associated with the MISCELLANEOUS category weighted by a range of groupings, in particular SPORTS CLUBS, GAMBLERS and PHANTSULA'S, whose activities took place away from home and independently of family.

Summary

This challenge refers to those leisure activities mentioned by youth. Girls tended to centre their leisure activities around their own or peers' homes and families, or with their boyfriends. In comparison boys' activities tended to take them into a range of contexts independent of home and family. The group membership of FRIENDS was frequently associated with this category by both young women and young men.

6.15 Adaptative challenge 15

Networking: Broadening one's horizons

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Developing one's personal resources*
a) *To strive to learn to speak English as well as possible* (Y=7)
b) *To regard sharing ideas through discussions with others as an important means of self-development* (Y=6)
c) To regard education as an important means of enlarging one's world views (Y=5)

2. *General comments on means of enlarging one's horizons beyond the limits of township life*
a) To regard one's boyfriend as providing useful access to new places and new people (Y=4)
b) To regard church as a means of broadening one's horizons (Y=4)
c) *To regard participation in the youth identity research project as a means of broadening one's horizons* (Y=4)
d) *To regard the younger generation as having greater opportunities for horizon-broadening than their parents had (Y=4)*

3. *Attitudes to urban and rural lifestyles*
a) *To prefer the urban way of life to the rural one* (Y=11, N=9)

MALES

1. *Developing one's personal resources*
a) *To strive to learn to speak English as well as possible* (Y=9)
b) *To regard sharing ideas through discussions with others as an important means of self-development* (Y=7)

2. *General comments on means of enlarging one's horizons beyond the limits of township life*
a) *To regard the younger generation as having greater opportunities for horizon-broadening than their parents had* (Y=10)
b) *To regard participation in the youth identity research project as a means of broadening one's horizons* (Y=8)
c) To regard comrades membership as an important way of expanding one's horizons (Y=7)

3. *Attitudes to urban and rural lifestyles*
a) *To prefer the urban way of life to the rural one* (Y=15, N=3, undecided=2)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

There was no significant difference in the proportion of responses devoted by boys and girls to this challenge (see Figure 6.3), nor were there any striking differences in the gendered range of options associated with it, apart from the exclusively female reference to boyfriends, church and education and the exclusively male reference to the comrades as groups that expanded a young person's horizons.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=158); Urban 50 (32%); Educated/scholar 29 (18%); Miscellaneous* 16 (10%); Younger generation 12; Family 12.

Males: (n=205); Urban 72 (35%); Younger generation 24 (12%); Friends 23 (11%); comrades 22 (11%); Educated/scholar 21 (10%); Decent citizen 12.

*The MISCELLANEOUS category was not weighted by any particular group membership in this case.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge includes channels available to youth for seeing new places and meeting new people outside of the township. It also includes references to the life skills and

knowledge that serve to broaden youth's horizons beyond the limits of home, family and immediate neighbourhood.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

Young township people have limited opportunities to broaden their horizons beyond the confines of township life. Given factors such as the lack of recreational facilities in the township and the distance of the township from the city centre with high transport costs, their opportunities to see new places and meet people from other areas are limited. These limits are more severe for young women than young men, given the pressures on them to remain within the spatial confines of their family homes. Young men are relatively free to move around wherever possible, and less hampered by restrictions of family and lovers.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

This section will begin with a discussion of the options common to both gender, before turning to those options specific to women and men respectively. Both men and women cited the inability to speak English as a severe limitation on the life chances of a young person seeking to expand her/his horizons. Most informants were not fluent in English. Only three of boys and six girls chose to be interviewed in English, without a Zulu-speaking co-interviewer. The remainder said they would find it difficult to proceed without the aid of an interpreter. Youth cited the ability to speak English as a source of self-esteem for young township people. Several referred to the bitterness and envy that arose when better educated youth chose to speak English to each other in taxis for example, making non English speakers feel excluded and inferior. Facility with English was seen as an important asset at job interviews, and an important tool in communicating with white people (virtually none of whom speak Zulu). English was also cited as an important tool for participation in the political struggle.

"No freedom will be achieved by uneducated people with no English." (F12)

Political meetings were generally conducted in English, and it was generally accepted that a successful political activist would need English, generally the only language common to various participants in the political struggle in a multilingual society.

M6, one of the English speakers in the sample, commented bitterly on the education system that had limited his facility with the language to what he regarded as his "broken English":

> "The education that we have is inferior. We speak broken English. Then we are thrown out into the world armed only with an inferior education 'for blacks only' that puts us at an unfair advantage with other nations such as the Indians, coloureds and the whites." (M6)

Another means of developing personal resources as a means to expanding one's horizons was sharing ideas with one's friends.

> "M is politically minded, older and an educated person. He gives us information about our life situation. S also gives us information about the country and its history." (M6)

> "(What do you gain from these friendships?) We share knowledge that we have and that makes us close to each other. For example when I leave the interview I will go and tell my friends that if you are asked such questions you must deal with them in this manner, because this interview has shown logical thinking - which we are trying to develop in our organisation." (M18)

> "I like the kind of friend who is educated. (?) Because that helps if I have a problem, he can help me, or I can help him. (?) Perhaps I have been asked to sign a sporting contract and do not understand what that contract involves. I want to know something about that, and he can help me." (M19)

Several people commented that the experience of taking part in this research project had broadened their horizons by providing the opportunity to develop interview skills in anticipation of future job interviews, to improve the ability to talk and concentrate for long periods of time and to see a new place.

> "I would rather be interviewed at the university than in my home. This interview has given me the opportunity to see a new place that I had not seen before." (M1)

Section 4.7 has already cited M20's comment that is had "opened his eyes" to come to the university campus and see black people who had succeeded in becoming university students.

Several young men and women referred to the way in which the horizons of township people had broadened considerably since their parents' generation. They referred to increased educational opportunities, an increasingly urbanised, industrialised lifestyle and greater access to books and newspapers.

> "All these things serve to keep our eyes open." (M8)

There were frequent references to the older generations' world as the 'old civilisation':

> "The older people had many problems. On the other hand we have everything as from now, through the new civilisation, everything is in front of us .... last time during the old civilisation the parents were not working (for wages), they were just working for themselves, they had a farm yard, they had no (political) mobilisation, they also had no houses ... the education was not of such a high standard." (M19)

In addition to the advantages of the 'new civilisation', younger people were characterised as having quicker wits than their elders:

> "Young people today they just think very fast and do things fast, but the older generation just think and think about three times before they do a thing. (What makes the youth so much faster in their thinking?) We the younger generation have very sharp brains, much sharper than the older generation. (?) Because we are still very fresh and young." (M16)

Young women said that in the old days women had had very little education, and had seen marriage as their main goal in life. These days they wanted more out of life, in particular a career and financial independence.

Several options were cited by young women only. Boyfriends, especially boyfriends with cars, were said to take a young woman to nice places, such as the Wheel (a large shopping/entertainment plaza some distance from the township on the Durban beachfront), concerts or parties. F14's boyfriend was studying law in the USA and had offered to pay for an air ticket for her to visit him[29]. Women also said that school activities provided an important way of meeting people. They referred to inter-school programmes, as well as Students' Representative Council functions which gave scholars the opportunity to visit places such as Diakonia (a political church centre in the city) and to meet people such as Archbishop Hurley (a progressive Catholic leader). They also referred to education as a means of broadening their horizons. Several referred to the usefulness of particular school subjects such as biology which had taught them about their bodies. Education offered them opportunities as women, enabling them to extend themselves beyond traditionally gendered limitations.

> "Educated people can set a good example for others by teaching them what they have learned. For example in my community most people think its not right to send a woman to university - and you can help people to see the good things about sending a woman to university. Most people in my community still believe that a girls' place is in the kitchen and that most jobs are for women only. Men don't want women to be superior to them. Educated people must show the world that this is wrong." (F19)

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29 F14 was the only informant who had such a well-educated and successful boyfriend. All the other womens' boyfriends were members of the struggling working class.

Church also provided young women with the opportunity to meet people from other churches. Church choirs travelled to other areas. Informal debates held amongst church youth were also often stimulating. These, like education, provided a forum for discussion of gender relations, amongst other things.

> "From being a member of the (church) choir, I have learned, through our informal discussions, that the father is not necessarily more important than the mother in the family." (F5)

Other opportunities for broadening one's horizons mentioned by young women included television, women's magazines such as *Bona, True Love* and *Drum*, and rich friends. F19's poor family had scrimped and saved to send her to a boarding school where she had made friends with girls from wealthy homes. She said their interaction had enabled them all to learn about different lifestyles with different living standards.

> "We have all taught each other a lot about our different lifestyles." (F19)

Turning to those options mentioned specifically by men, membership of the COMRADES grouping was cited by seven men. At the more philosophical level it had presented them with the vision of a more democratic society. At the more day-to-day level, it had served as a means of meeting new people, and provided a forum for stimulating discussions and debates.

> "(Comrades') meetings broaden my horizons and my scope of seeing the world, and they give me a chance to meet people who are well-informed about issues all over the country." (M18)

The issue of preference for an urban or rural lifestyle was discussed by every informant, male and female. Nearly all their parents had been born in a rural area, and come to the city as young adults to find work, settling in the township. As a result most informants had rural relatives who they had visited at some stage of their lives. This contact with another lifestyle provided a useful reference point for informants' assessment of township life, and the categorisations of RURAL and URBAN were commonly referred to. Eleven women and 15 men expressed a preference for the urban lifestyle. The paragraphs that follow will begin by focussing on some of the benefits these informants ascribed to urban life compared to rural life. Not all informants preferred the urban lifestyle however, with nine women and three men preferring the rural way of life. The section will conclude with an account of the positive factors these subjects associated with the rural lifestyle.

Those in favour of urban life said it was more prosperous than rural life, providing greater opportunities for education and for meeting people of other race groups. It was

said to be easier to find jobs in urban areas. Urban youth had the added advantage of being given greater freedom by their parents and having a lot more freedom to come and go as they pleased.

> "On the farm[30] you wake up early. Work, each person has a responsibility to take the cattle to the pastures. At home you don't do that. I just wake up and go to my friends without telling anyone." (M18)

Rural life was characterised by lack of amenities, such as electricity, telephones, transport, tarred roads, purified water, shops, adequate housing and schools and recreational facilities such as cinemas. The many inconveniences of this lifestyle included distances between homes, shops and schools and dung floors rather than the modern polished floors in in urban homes.

> "On the farm there are frogs in the water, lots of diseases, the roads are bad. They have wood fires rather than electricity, and their clothes always smell of woodsmoke. In the location (township) we have (modern) transport rather than a donkey." (M11)

In general rural life was regarded as boring and lonely by many informants. In particular young women bemoaned the lack of modern entertainment in the rural areas, as well as the lack of sophistication of their rural counterparts, and old-fashioned rural parents' demands of what they regarded as excessive respect from the younger generation.

They also said that a negative aspect of rural life was the arduous young woman's chore of having to carry water from the river to the household. They disliked having to collect and carry firewood, a young woman's duty on the farm. Men said they did not like the onerous duty of herding cattle that was the job of rural young men.

> "In the town they have many things that will make my life better. On the farm they take the boys to work with the cattle so that you can never get an education because you just work with the cattle until you are old ... compared to going to school, participating in sports and getting an idea of what to do if for example you meet other people such as whites or Indians or an idea of how to play that sport you are participating in." (M19)

The only kind of skill that informants attributed to rural people was their ability to herd cows.

> "There are lots of duties for rural people. In the town I just stay at home all day and enjoy myself with my friends. On the farm you have to look after cattle all the time. (Why don't you like this?) Because I have never done it before - I get confused - I don't know how to herd them at all." (M15)

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30 The phrase 'the farm' refers to a rural area.

Apart from these rather limited skills, rural people were generally described as as backward, slow to develop, unsophisticated and lacking in knowledge, politically uninformed, unaware of government oppression and lacking in political organisation, preoccupied with out-dated and old-fashioned Zulu customs and bound by the outdated tribal system. Rural adults were too strict on the youth (particularly with regard to smoking which rural youth were allegedly forbidden to do) and too influenced by witchcraft.

However, as has been stated, not everyone was negative about rural life. Nine girls and three boys said they preferred the rural way of life to their urban one. Rural youth were said to be better behaved, more respectful, and less likely to get into trouble than their township counterparts. In comparison these informants characterised township youth as rough, tsotsis, drinkers, *dagga*-smokers and gamblers, who indulged in dangerous activities such as playing in the doors of moving trains. Furthermore rural young men armed themselves with sticks rather than knives which was regarded as less dangerous.

Some informants also commented favourably on the relative lack of political disturbances in rural areas. They said that rural youth did not force each other to become involved in dangerous political activities. There was a greater chance of finishing school in the rural areas due to the relative infrequency of school riots and boycotts. Compared to the crowded township conditions, there was much more space in rural areas, both for housing and for recreation. The greater distance between neighbours was also mentioned as a factor that made fighting and quarreling less likely.

Informants in favour of the rural way of life often commented that township people were hostile and unfriendly compared to their rural counterparts.

> "In the countryside people are friendly, and greet you compared to the township where if you greet someone they might just swear back at you and be rude." (F13)

> "The township people are quite hostile, and I don't feel at home there at all." (F20)

Group memberships

The group membership of URBAN was referred to most frequently by girls and boys. This group was associated with responses regarding preference for an urban or rural lifestyle, the issue that dominated responses on this challenge. The group membership

of EDUCATED was often associated with the responses of young women, expecially in relation to the option of developing one's personal skills and resources. For young men the categories of YOUNGER GENERATION, FRIENDS, COMRADES and EDUCATION were all associated with broadening their horizons.

Summary

This challenge included a range of options associated with the possibility of informants broadening their horizons beyond the confines of township life, and beyond what they regarded as the limited horizons of their rural-born and generally less educated and more old-fashioned parents. There were no particularly striking differences in male and female responses on this challenge.

6.16 Adaptative challenge 16

Networking: guidance on life issues

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Sources of advice*
a) *To regard one's parents as sources of advice* (Y=13,N=4)
b) *To regard one's peers as sources of advice* (Y=7)
c) *To regard one's siblings as sources of advice* (Y=6)
d) To regard one's boyfriend as a source of advice (Y=6)
e) To regard the church as a source of influence (Y=4)
f) *To regard the older generation as a significant source of guidance for the youth* (N=3)

2. *Seeking advice in matters of love*
a) To seek advice from one's mother in boyfriend matters (Y=3,N=5)
b) To seek advice from one's friends in boyfriend matters (Y=4,N=1)

3. *Sources of discipline*
a) *To regard family members as significant sources of discipline (scolding and beating)* (Y=13)
Particular family members: parents in general 4, mothers 7, brothers 4.
c) To respect restrictions exercised by brothers (Y=7)
d) *To regard teachers as significant sources of discipline* (Y=4)

4. *Traditional African practices*
a) *To regard traditional African practices as influential and relevant aspects of township life* (Y=6, N=4, partly=4)

MALES

1. *Sources of advice*
a) *To regard ones parents as a source of advice* (Y=13,N=5)
b) *To regard the older generation as a valuable source of guidance for the youth* (Y=4, In some issues, but not others 8, N=5)
c) *To regard one's peers as a source of influence* (Y=14)
d) To seek advice from older men (Y=12)
e) *To regard ones siblings as a source of influence* (Y=9)

2. *Sources of discipline*
a) *To regard teachers as significant sources of discipline* (Y=9)
b) *To regard family members as significant sources of discipline (scolding and beating)* (Y=8)
Particular family members: father 5, mother 5

3. *Traditional African practices*
a) *To regard traditional African practices as influential and relevant aspects of township life* (Y=13,N=5)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Although there was no significant gendered difference in the proportion of responses devoted to this challenge (see Figure 6.3), there were differences in range of options associated with this challenge by boys and girls, and in the emphases in their discussions of various options. Boys for example devoted many more responses to discussing the older generations' qualifications to guide the youth than did girls. They also referred specifically to seeking advice from older men on important life issues, an option that was not mentioned by girls. Girls on the other hand referred specifically to seeking advice (from mothers and friends) in matters of love, an issue that boys did not specifically mention. Both boys and girls referred to parents, peers and siblings as sources of influence and advice. In addition, girls also referred to the influence of lovers and the church, two sources not mentioned by boys.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=218); Family 99 (45%); Friends 23 (11%); Younger generation 22 (10%); Lovers 16; Miscellaneous* 15; Educated 15.

Males: (n=277); Family 87 (31%); Younger generation 55 (20%); Miscellaneous* 41 (15%); Friends 40 (14%); Educated/scholar 20.

* The Miscellaneous category was composed of a broad range of groupings, none of which weighted the category particularly heavily.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included all responses relating to sources of advice, influence and discipline in the lives of the informants, be they significant others (e.g. mothers, brothers), significant groupings (e.g. the older generation) or cultural forces (e.g. witchcraft).

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

In many areas of the lives of young township people, living (ranging from sexual norms to political views) are in the process of transformation. The social hierachy of power relations between black and white, male and female and old and young is in the process of renegotiation. Against this background, seeking advice and guidance, and deciding who was best qualified to give such advice and guidance, was an important task facing informants. Interviews bore witness to a growing range of behavioural options in relation to the older generation in particular. Informants were often the first generation in their family to have been reared in an urbanised environment, to have progressed to higher levels of schooling than their parents, and to be in possession of more radical political views, views which appeared to have the power to mobilise for political change in favour of black working class people. For these reasons they often considered their world views to be superior to those of their parents, opening up the possibility of new ways of behaving towards older people. Unconditional respect for one's elders, regarded as the norm by informants' parents, appeared to be coming under increasing scrutiny and debate, especially by young men. The changing role of traditional African practices (e.g. slaughtering animals to mark special occasions) also presented informants with a changing set of options.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

The behavioural options associated with this challenge fell into the three themes of i) advice and influence, ii) discipline and iii) tradition, which are discussed in turn.

i) Advice and influence

Two options are discussed here: that of accepting advice and guidance from the older generation and that of seeking advice on matters of love. One of the central concerns of youth was whether or not the older generation was qualified to guide and influence them on day-to-day life issues. The theme of inter-generational relationships has already been raised in connection with the CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT challenge (Section 6.5), in relation to the matter of treating elders with some degree of awe and reverence, as well as the issue of obedience to the older generation (with regard to issues such as good manners, errands, and sexual behaviour). The current challenge focussed on youth's assessment of their parents' life skills, and the appropriateness of these life skills in meeting the demands of township life in the late 80's and early 90's.

Girls and boys differed in the amount of attention devoted to this debate. Seventeen young men referred to changing attitudes to the older generation, while only three young women did so. Boys appeared to be more conscious of what they regarded as changing behavioural possibilities offered by the changing social climate in relation to inter-generational relationships.

Of the three young women who expressed strong views on this issue, all said that the older generation had little of value to teach them. None of them dealt with matter at any length however.

> "The older generation only know irrelevant things - things relating to the rural life and to past days - there is nothing they can teach us as the younger generation." (F6)

Young men engaged in far more detailed debate of this issue than their female counterparts. Of the 17 young men who referred to changing attitudes to the older generation, five said that neither their parents nor the older generation had anything of value to teach the youth. There were a number of strands to this perception. Their first claim was that the older generation had grown up in a different historical period, and that between the one generation and the next social change had happened so quickly that their accumulated wisdom and experience was of no relevance to the younger generation.

> "The parents try to teach their children ways based on what happened before from the ancient civilisation where things were not in good condition. The older people had many problems. Yet ... for us, through the new civilisation, everything is in front of us. But instead of teaching them the new ways the parents want to teach the youth backwards. They want to take them backwards, to teach them the ways of the old civilisation." (M19)

Their second claim was that the older generation had passively tolerated racial discrimination and economic disadvantage, and in so doing had brought their offspring into the world at an intolerably low rung of the social ladder.

> "Old people were scared of the white man. They see him as someone like God ... they never see that what the white may have said to them might be good or bad, right or wrong. It has never occurred to them to question anything." (M6)

Their third claim was that the older generation were members of a rural-born generation in a society where rural people were "blind", "in the dark" or ignorant.

> "On the farms they think they have got nothing to fight for. They have their own cow, their own space, their own chief. And they think they have got everything they could dream of. Such a person knows nothing about their rights, about the needs of black people - such is content to be an oppressed black labourer." (M6)

M13, one of the most politically active members of the sample, emphasised that he was guided at all times by his political convictions. From his account it appeared that his politically charged critique of his parents' attempts to bring up their childen had intimidated his parents.

> "My mother disciplines me a lot when I have done something wrong ... she no longer shouts at me but talks nicely with me with the hope that I will understand. But I can see something developing amongst my parents at home, they just seem to fear me. Even if I am arguing with them they just show signs that they don't really have something to offer in terms of advice, because I always quote the Freedom Charter and the Children's Charter about the way they bring us up. They are not happy with this. And I try to submit to what they are saying sometimes because I can see that they are hurt when I do this." (M13)

To back this up M13 pointed to his 8-year-old nephew who was wearing a very expensive brand new pair of trousers. He said his mother had tried to persuade the child to choose a cheaper pair, but he (M13) had quoted the Children's Charter to her and argued that she was "oppressing" the child by preventing him from choosing the pair of trousers of his choice.

Having referred to the five men who totally rejected the older generations' advice, we now turn to the responses of the second group of eight young men, who gave more complex responses. They were dismissive of the older generation when speaking about

them in general. While speaking of their own relationship with significant older people in their lives however, they cited one or both parents, uncles or older men as the most influential people in their lives. On further questioning they qualified this apparent contradiction by specifying that in certain aspects of their experience and knowledge the older generation had much of value to teach them, generally referring to lessons about showing good manners to other people. In the area of politics however the older generation had nothing to contribute.

> "The parents teach the child about how to conduct himself in the community and how to respect others and to obey instructions from old people, but the comrades are teaching people about the struggle and about how to get freedom, and teaching people not to become criminals and not to do offenses against others in the community." (M17)

> "There are lots of laws that the older generation can teach us - things like the respect of parents, knowing how to greet old people in the street, how women should behave, and what is good behaviour in the street. They also teach their children things like how to watch the cars ... to cross the road and so forth ... What I would say is that the younger generation can teach the older generation about politics. The old people don't see anything without being taught by Gatsha (Buthelezi) to do whatever he wants them to do ... in this sense the old people don't see the world of today, but the younger people - they have got ideas, and the opportunity to change the world - in this respect they are more concerned to please their peers than their parents." (M9)

The remaining four boys who expressed views on the issue of inter-generational influence stated unequivocally that the older generation had superior wisdom to the youth.

> "(Why is it that some of the younger generation do not respect the old?) Sometimes the youth think that they know too much. (Is this true?) No it's not true at all ... The old people have knowledge about the world, and they have a lot of useful advice to give the youth." (M11)

> "There are many ways in which the older generation can help us because they are old and they can show us what is right and what is wrong ... You have to ask the road from those who are older, because they have walked that road." (M5)

The option of seeking advice on matters of love was referred to by a number of women, but not by any young men. In this regard, the option mentioned most frequently by women was that of consulting their mothers about problems with boyfriends. Three girls said they would consult their mothers. Five said they would not, since their mothers were not even aware that they had boyfriends, and would be very disapproving if they found out.

> "Mother forbids me from having a boyfriend even though I am 18 years old. I am much too scared to tell her I have one. She would beat me if she knew." (F6)

"Mother would be shocked if I mentioned my boyfriend to her." (F14)

"I never discuss boys with mother and she gave me no sex education. This is why I fell pregnant. She thought I was too young to know these things, and would be shocked if she told me." (F7)

These five women said they sought advice from a sister (1), and friends (4). But they commented that peers were not always a satisfactory or reliable sources of guidance.

"I seek advice from my friends - but sometimes they give me the wrong advice." (F14)

While young women sometimes implied that the advice of peers was not always sound, young men were more unambiguously positive about the usefulness of friends as sources of guidance in matters ranging from love, to politics, to the importance of avoiding criminal behaviour, drinking and smoking *dagga*.

"I depend very heavily on my friends for advice. I am nothing without these people I spend my time with. We always encourage and advise each other, and check that the others have taken the right road, and not the other road." (M6)

ii) Discipline

Turning now to discipline, the second theme of this section, both girls and boys referred to being beaten by parents and teachers as a form of punishment. Beating by teachers was a common form of punishment for misdemeanours ranging from misbehaviour to failing tests. Girls mentioned two additional administrators of corporal punishment not mentioned by boys: their lovers and their brothers.

"My boyfriend gets angry when I get visits from other boys in my class at school who come to my home to talk about studies. (Do you feel your classmates should be allowed to visit you?) Yes I think they should be able to visit me. (Do you listen to your boyfriend?) Yes I listen to him ... I told my classmates they must not come to my home. (Why do you listen to your boyfriend if you do not agree with his instructions?) I listen to him because I love him ... (How does he discipline you if you do not listen?) He gives me the 'five finger' on my face. (Do you mind this?) I don't mind that much ... I suppose I mind at the time and then afterwards I forget." (F15)

"(How do your family discipline you?) They hit me. (Who hits you the most?) My father ... Last time he hit me I had a conflict with my older brother and I answered him back as I liked instead of taking into consideration that he was my older brother. (Have your brothers ever hit you?) They do hit me ... last time was on new years day when me and my friends were in the street and we lit a fire. My brothers came and saw that there were boys there. They did not even ask what was going on - they just hit me. (Did you discuss this with anyone?) I was hurt and worried and went to discuss this with my father but father took no notice. (You mean your father approved of your brothers hitting you?) Yes he did. (Is it true that girls need to be guarded by their brothers?) I approve of this

> fact that my brothers punish me by hitting me. I compare myself with my sister. She did anything she liked, even when father tried to talk. She never listened to them until they hit her. Only then did she see that what she was doing was wrong. Hitting is an effective way to get back onto a better path in life." (F20)

Seven young women referred to restrictions on their behaviour by brothers. Six of these did not express disapproval of this practice:

> "My brother wants to control me in order to see me building a bright future. Brothers do these things for their sisters' sakes. They want them to have their own homes one day, and to be married and so on." (F7)

Only one of the seven woman, F5, resented her brothers' interference in her life. She pointed to the double standards inherent in brothers' policing.

> "My brothers guard me incessantly. They do not want me to have an affair with any boys in the church choir. If I did so they would be cross, because they want me to respect them. (Why does having an affair show disrespect for a brother?) It is so because he is older than me so I have to show respect - if he were to see me with a boyfriend this would show lack of respect for him as my older brother. (Is it a good thing that your brothers guard you?) No it is not a good thing - there they are sleeping with other peoples' sisters and then guarding their own ... I think that brothers should leave sisters alone. They can look after themselves." (F5)

Several men referred the the role that they played in what they referred to as "guarding" or policing their sisters. They commented that it was a brother's duty to ensure that not too many boyfriends came to the house.

> "Sisters need some guidance and protection from their brothers. In one way they are human beings capable of making their own decisions between right and wrong, but they do need some guidance sometimes ... in such cases boys sometimes end up beating their sisters." (M1)

Young men also referred to their older brothers as important sources of advice and guidance on a range of matters, particularly in the absence of fathers. In general it seemed that older brothers often 'stood in' for absent fathers, particularly in disciplining their sisters and advising younger brothers. In addition to their older brothers, boys often referred to older men as authority figures in their lives (seven boys referring to fathers of neighbouring families, and five to male teachers). These male figures were particularly important in the lives of young men in fatherless families.

iii) Tradition

Turning to tradition, the third theme in this section, three types of responses to tradition could be distinguished: (i) to regard traditions as playing an important role in township life, (ii) to regard them as losing their significance as time passes, and to regret their passing, (iii) to regard them as irrelevant and unimportant.

There were no gendered differences in attitudes to traditional African practices. Most informants who referred to these practices expressed a firm commitment to the "old-fashioned traditional African customs", regarding them as playing an important role in township life. When asked what they meant when they referred to these customs, informants invariably specified the practice of slaughtering goats on auspicious occasions such as births, weddings and deaths, in order to pay the necessary respects to one's ancestors[31].

> "If you want to keep your children healthy you must slaughter a goat when the child is born in order to introduce the child to your ancestors. If you do not do this the child will become ill. When your daughter is 21 she must have a traditional party. If you ignore this she will not have children" (F18)

Traditional practices were regarded as a source of strength and identity for black people:

> "We need our traditions, and must not copy other nations such as the white people. I disagree with those people who see (the whites) having everything, and think that if we copy their traditions we will be just like them and have everything too - and this is not going to happen ... our traditions give us good luck because when you are killing a goat or a cow you are killing them for your ancestors, and this brings good luck and protection to you." (M10)

> "Our customs are important because Africa is miserable because we have lost our customs, and because we looked to the white customs and by taking their customs we enabled them to control us." (M6)

M18 spoke of the comrades' aim of achieving a synthesis between the valued traditional notion of respectful behaviour on the one hand, and the ever changing conditions of urban township life on the other.

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31 Due to constraints of time the interviews did not pursue the issue of 'traditional customs' in any detail. However this is plainly an important area, and one that lends itself to investigation from within a social identity framework. The author is involved in planning a project which will explore, amongst other things, the ethnic social identity of Zulu-speaking South Africans, in which attitudes to 'traditional customs' by township people will be explored in greater detail.

> "We in the comrades are committed to the traditional notion of respect ... because with no respect ... we are just like people living in compounds ... places like chicken houses where there are no principles governing that particular place ... we are partly adopting the traditional notion of respect, but doing it in an educated way, by following a more modern style of respect, and one that fits the township."

He then told the story of the way in which the comrades had disciplined a woman who got drunk, and shouted at her boyfriend who was sitting beside the coffin of his dead brother (recounted in Section 6.1). He pointed to the blend of the old and the new ways in comrades practices, where the woman was punished according to the modern comrades methods for her failure to adhere to the traditional notion of respect.

One young woman said that traditions were so important in her family that her mother had spent one-quarter of her annual wages buying a cow to be slaughtered on the anniversary of her father's death each year.

> "Traditional practices receive lots of attention. Slaughtering is still important in our community ... These practices get as much attention as before. For example we still slaughter a cow to remember my father each year. (Is this expensive?) Yes it is. After that we don't pay the grocery bills, or the rent. I worry about that a lot. (How much does a cow cost?) About R800 or R900. (How much does your mother earn?) She earns R300 a month." (F14)

Turning to the second type of response, some informants sadly commented that the African traditional practices were passing away as their communities became more and more integrated into a western industrialised lifestyle. They regretted the passing of these traditions which they believed had enriched the lives of African people.

> "The old customs anchored people. We have nothing to guide us now. There are no norms governing teenage pregnancies for example." (F12)

> "Our old ways are being replaced by other peoples' customs. This is a sad thing to see because it was these old customs that made our lives better." (F19)

One young woman commented that the traditional subsistence rural lifestyle, where people grew their own food and were able to meet their own needs, had given people a dignity and independence that was more difficult to achieve in the harsh township struggle for survival.

> "I prefer these old ways - but there is no space to do these things any more. In the township there is no land for cattle." (F20)

Turning to the third type of response, a few informants believed that traditional African practices had no relevance to township life. They associated these practices with an outmoded rural lifestyle rather than a modern urban one.

"Traditions have little usefulness for us, little to teach us." (F6)

A number of reasons were given for this view. One person commented that the physical conditions of township life, including lack of space and poverty, prevented people from maintaining traditional ways.

> "Its not easy to use the traditional ways in the location. The most important reason is that you don't have a full place (space) where you can have cows and so on." (M16)

Others associated traditions with a rural past of their parents' generation and before where people had little education and a low standard of living.

> "The old ways are no longer relevant - because most of the people at that time were less educated, knew nothing about the modern life. There is nothing that I can mention about those ways helping people, the customs were of those people had less knowledge and less education." (M12)

> "I don't respect the old customs ... and it is a good thing when they disappear ... they belong to the old civilisation there was more sickness attacking the blacks, people drank infected water from rivers ... the whole life was in a bad condition." (M19)

M13 qualified his lack of commitment to traditional practices by saying that he sometimes went along with such customs to please his parents:

> "My family forces me to be involved in customs like cutting my hands and face as part of the tradition ... I don't like to do it because I don't believe in it in the first place ... however a refusal would seem as if I was distancing myself from them ... such a refusal could cause me problems later." (M13)

One young woman subject commented that traditions were particularly restrictive to women:

> "It is a good thing when traditions pass - women need more freedom these days." (F13)

Group memberships

Group memberships associated with this challenge by both men and women included FAMILY, YOUNGER GENERATION and FRIENDS.

The FAMILY was the group membership most frequently cited by both men and women on this challenge. The majority of informants regarded the family as extremely influential in their lives. Even those who explicitly sought to deny the appropriateness

of FAMILY recipes for living in their own lives still devoted a lot of attention to this issue, so that the FAMILY remained a key reference point in their articulation of their identity.

The group membership of YOUNGER GENERATION was also cited by men and women in connection with the variety of positions informants took on the inter-generational debate. It must be noted however that for some informants, the YOUNGER GENERATION consisted of respectful and obedient youth who looked up to their elders, and took account of the older generation's advice and life skills. For the other informants the YOUNGER GENERATION consisted of rebellious and independent youth, forging a new set of behavioural guidelines, which were sometimes in direct opposition to their elders' tried and tested recipes for living.

The third group associated with this challenge was that of FRIENDS, with peers playing a key role in advising each other. Women informants appeared less certain about the validity of their FRIENDS' advice, particularly when it contradicted the advice of their parents. Men on the other hand were unanimous in their faith in their friends, who they generally depicted as extremely competent and valued social guides.

Summary

This challenge consisted of behavioural options relating to advice and guidance, discipline and traditional African practices. Women referred to a broader range of sources of advice and guidance, and in relation to a broader range of topics than did young men. The most hotly debated issue with regard to this challenge related to the appropriateness of parents' knowledge and life skills to the demands of modern life. There was a greater tendency by men to question and debate this issue. Most women appeared to be more willing to accept the advice and influence of their parents and brothers on a range of life issues. The most commonly cited group memberships were the FAMILY, FRIENDS and YOUNGER GENERATION, with informants interpreting the latter category in a variety of ways ranging from conformism to rebellion.

6.17 Adaptative challenge 17

Networking: mobilising material support

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Seeking material assistance from other people*
a) *To seek material assistance from family members* (Y=14)
Sources mentioned: mother 9; family in general 6; brothers 4; father 3.
b) *To seek material assistance from non-family members* (Y=9)
Sources mentioned: boyfriends 7; friends 4.

2. To rely on one's mother for support of one's infant children (Y=7)

3. *Employment*
a) *To make money out of an informal home businesses* (Y=4[32])
b) *To occasionally do part-time work* (Y=3)
Of these three: market research 2, domestic work 1.

4. To spend money frugally (Y=4)

MALES

1. *Seeking assistance from other people*
a) *To seek material assistance from family members (Y=18)*
Sources mentioned: mother 7; siblings 5, father 3.
b) *To seek material assistance from non-family members* (Y=13)
Sources mentioned: friends 7; comrades 4; neighbours 4.

2. *Employment*
a) *To have some form of paid employment* (Y=4, N=11)
Employment cited: Full-time work (1); part-time jobs as gardener (1), supermarket packer (1), cleaning father's taxi (1).
Of those 11 not employed: looking for full-time work 7; scholars looking for part-time work 4.
b) *To have one's own informal selling business* (Y=4[33])

3. Other strategies for making money
a) To have contemplated the possibility of committing crimes as a means of making money (Y=2,N=7)
b) To regard gambling as a potential source of income (Y=3,N=2)
c) To be working to improve one's soccer skills with hope of making money from out of them one day (Y=4)
d) To borrow clothes and money from others (Y=4)

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32 For one of these four women, F8, her informal home business (hairdressing) was her means of subsistence. For the other three this was a source of pocket money that they pursued in their spare time.

33 For two of these young men, M8 and M10, their involvement in a selling business was their means of subsistence. For the other two it was a source of pocket money that they pursued intermittently.

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Men devoted a significantly larger proportion of responses to this challenge than women (see Figure 6.3). Men also cited a wider range of options for mobilising material support.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=136); Family 73 (54%); Miscellaneous* 22 (16%); Lovers 12 (9%).

Males: (n=288); Miscellaneous* 132 (46%); Family 89 (31%); Friends 16 (6%); Decent citizen 15 (5%); Educated/scholar 13.

MISCELLANEOUS was boosted by the groupings of INFORMAL BUSINESS-PERSON, PART-TIME WORKER and UNEMPLOYED.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge refers to attempts to mobilise material assistance under conditions of extreme deprivation and poverty. These included attempts to raise their own money, and approaches to significant others for help and support. Material support includes all sources of food, clothing, shelter, money and other material resources (e.g. cigarettes, drinks, school fees, soccer balls).

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

Against the background of poverty and unemployment facing their families, the issue of mobilising material support was a key adaptative challenge for youth. Several people said their family poverty was so dire that there was often a shortage of food in their homes. Others said that having at least one employed family member meant that their families were usually able to meet their needs for food. However they often had problems in raising money for school-books, school-fees, clothes, shoes and entertainment. Shortage of clothing was cited as a frequent source of family conflict,

where siblings fought over the borrowing of clothes and shoes from one another. Several respondents came to the interviews in borrowed clothes.

Elaboration of challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

Boys devoted a significantly greater proportion of their responses to this challenge than did girls. Various reasons are suggested for this. The first is that despite evidence that many families are supported by mothers rather than fathers, township ideology still holds fast to the notion of the male breadwinner. Another of these is that young men, with greater opportunities for moving around than young women, and a greater range of interests and leisure activities, are more likely to need spending money than their female counterparts.

Most informants came from poor homes, and several were themselves unemployed and unlikely to find work given their lack of skills and high levels of youth unemployment. Against this background, the worrying issue of material support to meet day to day living expenses was often raised. Furthermore several families had no fathers or unemployed fathers. In a community where women earn 60% of the salaries of men to do similar work (Tinker, 1992), female breadwinners are at a distinct disadvantage.

> "Father left us when I was very small. It was very bad as a child seeing neighbours' fathers coming home from work, carrying plastic shopping bags when in your house there was no father and only mother battling for the children. Finding yourself ashamed and disgraced that you didn't have what the other families did. There is often no food on the table and mother has many worries: rent, furniture, keeping all the children in school, and they walk barefoot because their shoes are broken with no one to assist her." (M7)

Options that were common to boys and girls, those of soliciting help from significant others, home businesses, and part-time work, are discussed first. This is followed by a discussion of specifically male options such as crime and gambling, and then the specifically female option of mobilising material assistance for one's infant children.

With regard to seeking material assistance from others, family members (particularly mothers) were peoples' chief source of material support with many expressing deep appreciation to their families for the sacrifices they had made for them, and for their willingness to share both food and possessions in hard times.

> "My hero is my grandmother because she just opened avenues for me by putting me in school after I had lost hope that I would ever make it to school at all, and I cannot stop thanking her that she sacrificed everything for me - even that I am alive in this room as I speak is through her efforts." (M14, an orphan in the rural area who had been brought to the township and taken in by his grandmother)

Boyfriends were the non-family source of material aid most frequently cited by girls. This was a specifically female option, with not one man citing his girlfriend as a source of material support. F13's boyfriend was paying for her to return to school after she had been forced to drop out due to family poverty. She was overwhelmingly grateful to him for this.

> "(Who is your hero?) My boyfriend. (Why do you admire him so much?) He gives me money to go to school." (F13)

F20 who had been forced to drop out for similar reasons was sitting at home, hoping that her boyfriend would honour his promise to try and help her with school expenses the following year. F6 cited her boyfriend as her only source of money now that her widowed mother was unemployed.

M19 was the only person in full-time formal employment (as an apprentice electrician). Three men and three women had formal occasional part-time jobs. Seven young men said they were actively seeking work, and reported great difficulty in finding it. The difficulties faced by these unemployed men are referred to in Section 6.11.

Four men and four women made money out of informal sector activities (all unlicenced). Of the men, M10 had a hawker's stand near the Durban station; M17 sold fruit on trains; M3 sold sweets from home and on trains; and M8 worked in his mother's home liquor business.

The task of M8, a large and well-built young man, was to stop fights in the shabeen and to check that customers did not steal the family's possessions. He said this was a dangerous business, and pointed to a recently healed wound on his neck which he had sustained some months before while trying to evict a client who had attacked his mother.

M10 reported that his work was particularly stressful. Unemployed and uneducated, he tried to make a living selling "towels, apples, ear rings and curtain rings" on a makeshift stand near the station, his wares piled on two planks balanced on two wooden boxes. When the word got out amongst the illegal hawkers that the police were approaching he would have to try and make a running getaway, grabbing his pile of merchandise, the two planks and the two boxes as he ran.

> "I know I am taking a risk and that anytime the police could come and arrest me, and I am frightened of the police - I don't feel free at all. (?) They are not nice working conditions ... (Why do the police harrass those who are selling?) They want papers for selling. (How do you get those papers?) We don't know how to get these papers. (?) I don't know anyone who has got them. (What kind of papers are they?) People tell me that it's a sort of slip that the police need. (Do you know what's written on the slip?) No, I don't know. But once you have got such a slip you have got the right to sit there and sell."

Of the women who were involved in informal sector activities, F1 sold items she had crocheted, F5 sold ice blocks in the neighbourhood (her family had a refrigerator), and F8 had a home hair perming business. Both F5 and F8 spoke enthusiastically of the importance of working hard and efficiently, and of getting a good name in the neighbourhood in order to ensure an on-going supply of customers. F9 said she sometimes helping her mother and aunts, who had sewing machines, and supported the family by selling home-made pinafores. However she seemed unenthusiastic about this work, and said she seldom helped for more than an hour or two a day.

Turning to the specifically male options, nine boys referred to crime as an option for making money, commenting that for the unemployed and uneducated it was often the only available means of survival. However seven of these said they would not consider this option themselves.

In connection with the MATERIAL SUPPORT challenge, two men spoke of crimes they themselves had committed in the interests of making money. M3 had served a few months in jail after being found guilty of housebreaking. Since his release he had mended his ways, returning to school and setting up a home business where he sold sweets under the watchful eye of a strict employed older brother who was determined to reform him.

M15, with five years of schooling and no prospect of work, made some money as a '*dagga*-runner' for his friends. He served as the middle-man between his friends and the *dagga* merchant who lived some distance away, and was paid R5 a trip for his pains. He said he often felt desparate and considered joining a criminal gang. However he had only once robbed a someone, an option he would not consider again for two reasons. Section 6.1 has already referred to the first reason, namely that his 'benefactor', a 23-year-old employed friend, had threatened to cut all ties with him if repeated this behaviour. The second reason was his fear of jail. He had once spent a month there on charges of car theft, and had feared that he might find himself abandoned and homeless on his release.

> "I would never befriend a hard criminal or commit a crime because I don't want to be jailed. It might happen that I stayed there for a long time, and came out having no life to lead in this world, and finding that my parents had died and I did not have a place to live." (M15)

Several boys tried to make money through gambling, though each said they had lost more money than they had won. Gambling was seen as a dangerous occupation. It was illegal, and gamblers often conducted their business in gullies in open patches of land or in the bush out of the public eye, on the continual look-out for the police. Section 6.1 has already commented that many fellow-gamblers were regarded as dangerous and violent characters.

Four men referred to the possibility of improving their soccer skills, with the dream of becoming a professional soccer player in the future. M19 was the only one of these four who played in a formal soccer team, one which took him around the country to play in various league matches. He had not yet made any money out of this talent at the time of the interviews however.

An option mentioned only by women was that of organising material support for their infant children. Three of the men had children, all of which were living with their girlfriends' families, and in no case did the father provide any material support for the child. Five of the girls had one child, one had two children, and one had one child and was pregnant with the second. All seven women said their mothers were the primary caretakers of their children, both materially and emotionally. In each case the child saw its grandmother as its mother, and its mother as its sister. These arrangements were taken for granted, with informants explaining them with statements such as the following:

> "Mother has work and I don't ... she has no choice but to care for the child - he is her grandson." (F10)

> "Mother takes care of the child because I'm still under the guardianship of my mother." (F9).

Six of these young mothers lived in the household with their mothers and their infants. The seventh (F8, with two children) had sent her children to live with her parents in a rural area. These arrangements appeared to run smoothly in most cases. Two people said their children went to creches by day. The only woman that anticipated childcare problems was the pregnant F9. She said that while her mother had been prepared to take over her first child, she felt that her daughter's second pregnancy was unforgivable.

"Mother says its only OK to have one mistake." (F9)

Section 6.6 has referred to her predicament. Her mother had said she must take the child to its father's family. However the respondent said her boyfriend (a taxi driver) lived with an aunt who was so strict that he was not even prepared to tell her that he had fathered this child, let alone ask her to take it in. At the time of the interview she appeared depressed and anxious about her problem.

Another specifically female option was that of managing one's money frugally. Four girls commented on the importance of counting every penny they spent. F15 said that she made a point of not being interested in fashion, which tempted young people to discard clothes that were still serviceable in favour of the latest styles. F6 commented that she was very careful not to lose money when she had some. F11 commented that one ought to think very carefully before spending a cent.

This section concludes with a brief reference to some of the less typical options. Three people reported having to beg for food from non-family sources. F6 said that when she was desperately hungry she would ask her girlfriends to give her some food from their homes. However she emphasised that she would only ask someone she was close to and trusted, for fear of becoming an object of derision and ridicule if she asked someone she did not know very well. F13 said that her family often depended on a kind neighbour to give them food when times were particularly hard. M15 commented on his family's reluctance to feed him, considering him a lazy unemployed layabout. He said he asked friends for food when he could not steal food from the family kitchen, or persuade his family to give him food.

With regard to material assistance with studying, two girls referred to bursaries as an option for contining studies. F15, a top-of-the-class matriculation pupil from a poor family, said she would be unable to continue her studies unless she managed to get a bursary for tertiary education. F19, who had already been accepted at the University of Cape Town, said she had been told that bursaries were only available for second year students, so she was planning to finance her first year of study with a bank loan.

Group memberships

The groups most frequently associated with this challenge by both men and women were those of FAMILY and MISCELLANEOUS. FAMILY members were a direct source of material assistance, as well as a fund of advice and suggestions regarding ways of making money through e.g. looking for work and informal sector activities. The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted heavily by groups linked to formal and informal employment, such as INFORMAL BUSINESS-PERSONS, PART-TIME WORKERS, and the UNEMPLOYED. The third most commonly cited group membership by women was that of LOVERS, with lovers serving as an important source of money for young women. The third most commonly cited group membership by men was that of FRIENDS with friends providing a source for borrowing money, as well as aiding and advising one in various cash-related schemes.

Summary

This challenge referred to the two groups of options. The first involved asking others for material assistance. The second involved making one's own money through a range of different strategies, ranging from formal and informal sector employment, to the less reputable strategies of crime and gambling. Boys devoted a significantly larger proportion of their responses to this challenge, and also referred to more options for making money. The group memberships most frequently associated with this challenge were the FAMILY, with family members serving as the most frequently cited sources of material aid, and MISCELLANEOUS, where this category was weighted by the group memberships of INFORMAL BUSINESS-PERSONS, PART-TIME WORKERS and the UNEMPLOYED.

6.18 Adaptative challenge 18

Networking: Responding to the politically divided environment[34]

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Range of political positions available*
a) *To remain uninvolved in politics* (Y=15)
   -*due to lack of interest in politics* (Y=6)
   -satisfied with country's social system (Y=4)
   -sympathetic to the political struggle but uninvolved nevertheless (Y=3)
   -*due to active disapproval of politicised youth* (Y=2)
b) *To support Inkatha* (Y=1,N=7)
   -never (Y=7)
   -sympathetic to Inkatha, but not active (Y=1)
c) *To identify with the comrades* (Y=5)
   -but have little knowledge of politics nevertheless (Y=3)
   -to consider oneself well-informed about politics (Y=2)
d) *To attend political meetings* (Y=4,N=4)

2. Influences affecting choice of political position
a) *To fear harrassment* (Y=5)
b) To be influenced by significant individuals/events (Y=4)

3. *Forging a racial identity in the South African township context*
a) *To disapprove of particular forms of racial discrimination* (Y=11)
b) Not to see being a black South African as a pressing problem (Y=6)
c) To see community conflict as one of the key problems facing black South Africans (Y=5)

MALES

1. *Range of political positions available*
a) *To remain uninvolved in politics* (Y=4)
   -*due to lack of interest in politics* (Y=3)
   -*due to active disapproval of politicised youth* (Y=1)
b) *To identify with the comrades* (Y=16)
   -To identify unambiguously with the comrades (Y=13)
   -To identify more tentatively with the comrades (Y=3)
c) *To support Inkatha* (Y=0,N=13)
d) To become a police spy (Y=0,N=4)

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34 This challenge is abbreviated as POLITICAL IDENTITY in later chapters.

2. Reasons for rejection of Inkatha option
a) To regard Inkatha as killers of the comrades (Y=5) .
b) To regard Inkatha as the older generation's movement (Y=5)
c) To regard Inkatha as a collaborator with the white government, with no interest in black unity (Y=5)
d) To disapprove of the Inkatha practice of 'bribing' members into joining (making membership a condition for access to housing or jobs) (Y=4).

3. Influences affecting choice of comrades position

3.1 Discontent with apartheid and poverty
a) To feel general discontent with the position of black people in South Africa (Y=12)
b) To have joined the comrades after specific personal experiences of oppression as a black person (Y=8)

3.2 Attraction to aspects of the comrades image
a) To identify with comrades' personality traits of masculinity, total commitment and fearlessness (Y=14)
b) To be attracted to the comrades' commitment and dedication to community service (Y=11)
c) To consider political involvement as the role of the more enlightened younger generation (Y=9)
d) To disregard the bad image of the comrades in the community, blaming it on the comtsotsi's (Y=6)

3.3 Influences advising against comrades involvement
a) To experience conflict with parents regarding comrades political beliefs and/or involvement (Y=12,N=3)
b) To experience conflict with girlfriend regarding comrades political involvement (Y=3)

3.4 Recruiting agents
a) To have learned about politics from significant others (Y=14)
Friends=10; family members 5
b) To have felt pressurised into joining the comrades through fear of harrassment by comrades if one did not (Y=4)
c) To have learned about politics from books and newspapers (Y=3)

4. Particular behavioural choices associated with comrades membership
a) To actively work towards winning over other community members to the comrades' cause (Y=10)
b) To attend political meetings (Y=6,N=2)
c) To give one's education priority over political activities, since education precedes liberation (Y=7)
d) To strive for unifying the black community in the face of current violence and conflict (Y=6)
e) To dance the toyi-toyi, sing freedom songs and chant slogans (Y=4)
f) To aim to promote democratic decision-making in the community (Y=3).

5. Forging a racial identity in the South African township context
a) To disapprove of particular forms of racial discrimination (Y=11)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Men devoted a significantly larger proportion of responses to this challenge than women (see Figure 6.3). In addition men associated this challenge with a larger number of options than their female counterparts. Both men and women referred to the range of political positions available to township youth (neutral, comrade or Inkatha), and to their responses to being black people in South Africa. In addition to these common options men also referred to a number of reasons for their rejection of Inkatha, a range of reasons affecting their choice of the comrades option, and an array of activities associated with comrades membership.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=256); Comrades 105 (41%); Black 61 (24%); Miscellaneous* 50 (20%); Educated/scholar 14; Family 13.

Males: (n=554); Comrades 330 (60%); Black 65 (12%); Younger generation 45 (8%); Family 25; Miscellaneous 24; Decent citizen 20; Friends 15; Gender roles 14; Educated/scholar 14.

> Females' use of the MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted with the categories of APOLITICAL and UNPOLITICAL.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge refers to youth's responses to the highly politicised township environment. In terms of political alignment, four options were open to informants: to align themselves with the comrades movement sympathetic to the MDM/ANC; to align themselves with Inkatha; to become a police collaborator or to remain politically neutral.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

Chapter 4.1 and Appendix A.1 dwell at length on the politicised nature of the township environment. They also pointed to the range of political differences dividing township people, i) from each other within the local township context, ii) from political movements and organisations in the broader provincial and national context, iii) and from various agents of the apartheid state. The political arena is characterised by high levels of violence, often carried out in the township streets. This makes it impossible for any township resident to remain unaffected by the conflict. At the time of the interviews there was a strong police and army presence in the township; police, hit-squad and Inkatha attacks on MDM/ANC activists were at their height; police detention without trial had affected the lives of thousands of young people, and what was to develop into the full-scale war between Inkatha and the ANC was already underway.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences

For the informants in the sample that regarded themselves as politicised, political allegiance and involvement took the form of an identification with the COMRADES grouping. Male informants devoted more attention to the issue of politics than their female counterparts, with a greater awareness of the political struggles going on around them, and a higher level of involvement in grassroots political activities.

In this section the meaning of COMRADES membership is examined. Thereafter male and female responses to this challenge are discussed under separate headings, before concluding with a discussion of the group memberships associated with this option by both genders.

The period of the late 80's and early 90's is often referred to as "The Time of the Comrades", where comrades are defined as "generally young activists seen to be at the forefront of the struggle against the South African regime" (Manganyi and du Toit, 1990, p. 234). In relation to the ANC-Inkatha conflict comrades identify themselves as pro-ANC and anti-Inkatha, although this identification is often of an extremely loose, self-styled and informal nature. Identification with the 'comrades' grouping does not necessarily imply that one is part of an organised political structure. Thus for example in the current sample, of the 13 young men who identified themselves as comrades, four were involved in organised community structures such as township youth leagues or local peace committees set up in an attempt to reduce the Inkatha-MDM/ANC

violence. The commitment of the other nine was less formal, consisting of: a) a dissatisfaction with current social conditions; b) a commitment to what informants referred to as 'community service', involving in particular community crime prevention and punishment strategies; c) attendance at political rallies; and d) involvement in the current political conflict/violence in Natal.

Five of the young women in the sample referred to themselves as comrades. However on detailed questioning it emerged that only two of these took part in comrades activities, the other three only identifying with the group because they belonged to a 'comrades family'.

Identification with the comrades grouping was a significant factor in providing respondents with a sense of mastery and control of their lives in a life world characterised by lack of opportunities for advancement, political divisions and uncertainties, as well as extreme poverty:

> "When you are a comrade you know where you are going compared to the others in the community who are billowed around by strong winds." (F20)
>
> "I am nothing without the struggle for my rights ..." (M6)

Comrades defined themselves in sharp contrast to the older generation. Comrade membership opened up the possibility of taking control of their lives in a way their parents had failed to do. Being a comrade also provided subjects with the opportunity to contribute to uplifting the community.

The interviews were conducted in the months immediately preceding the unbanning of the ANC, where involvement in the ANC was regarded as a criminal offence. ANC supporters often tended to operate under the umbrella of the Mass Democratic Movement, but even involvement in these activities was extremely dangerous with high levels of harrassment of activists by both the state (e.g. detention without trial of ANC/MDM supporters, hit squad killings of ANC/MDM supporters) and Inkatha (e.g. attacks on ANC/MDM supporters and their homes). For this reason the interviewer was reluctant to press informants for details of involvement in illegal political activities, and in political violence (see Section 4.7). Five of the male comrades in the sample did speak directly of personal involvement in the violence. Unless such information was volunteered however, the issue was not pursued.

i) Male responses to this challenge

Men referred to four choices: to identify with the comrades, to identify with Inkatha, to collaborate with the apartheid state as a police spy, or to remain politically neutral. Thirteen men called themselves comrades. In addition to these three other men indicated that they identified with the comrades, but their answers were phrased more conditionally. These were the three youngest members in the sample. The first of these three, M5, said that while he was very keen to be part of the comrades he was to scared to defy his parents' instructions that he avoid them. However in the course of his interview he referred to his pleasure in singing freedom songs and doing the toyi-toyi (a COMRADES dance, accompanied by the chanting of liberation slogans). In the more political questions he identified the comrades as an important force in the community. It appeared that despite his reluctance to identify himself as a comrade, he was in fact a COMRADES supporter. The second of these was M14 who had few friends and spent his spare time at home with his elderly grandparents and older aunts and uncles. He said that he was keen to join the comrades, but lacked knowledge about them, and was too scared to ask his grandfather or his comrade aunt about them, since they were both older people, and it was a sign of disrespect to question older people on topics they had not initiated. The third of these, M11, expressed irritation with all political groupings, saying they "just pump out clichès". However his interview contained numerous comments that were supportive of the comrades.

Four subjects described themselves as politically neutral. Three of these (M2, M7 and M12) seemed disinterested in the political world. M2, a scholar, and M12, a student at a teachers' training college, said they might consider finding out about politics once their education was completed, but that at present they had neither the time nor the interest to pursue such matters. M7, an unemployed labourer, appeared to centre his life around his girlfriend and his drinking companions, and did not see politics playing any role in his life in the present or the future. The fourth politically neutral man, M15, was violently opposed to the comrades, after allegedly being falsely accused of being a police informer and severely beaten up and 'modelled' by the Peoples' Court (This case is discussed in Section 6.1). He expressed dismay at the comrades' claim that one day they would be in control of the country and the community:

> "I asked my (comrade) sister Neli about this and she said the comrades are there to change the world, and they want to take over, like the police, to make sure that no one in the community is going to do wrong. (What do you think of that?) They are mad! They will never rule the world if they continue beating people like that. I think the police are even better than the comrades. At least they investigate the crime thoroughly without anybody being killed, or beaten severely." (M15)

M15 did not see Inkatha allegiance as an option either:

> "I don't want to join any of these things. I have heard about Inkatha as an organisation that kills people." (M15)

Four subjects referred to the option of collaborating with the white government as a police spy as a way of making money in a desperately poor and deprived environment. All four said they would not consider this option.

> "Even in other countries in Africa there is a state of bad corruption because of spies amongst people who are hungry. When people are hungry then they become spies of the system." (M6)

M13 said that during his period in political detention the police had requested him to play this role in return for his release. However none said they would take this option.

Inkatha *membership was not an option for one of the male subjects.*

> "(Could you have been a member of Inkatha)(He laughed very heartily.) Never - I would not fit in. They don't know anything about the struggle. All that they know is how to carry guns and spears. (Do you have much contact with Inkatha members?) I have nothing against Inkatha members in general because I know that they are misled and stupid. The one's I feel strongly about are X and Y (two prominent Inkatha warlords), that kill people who differ from their own opinions." (M18)

What *were the reasons offered by young men for their choice of comrades* membership? Reasons varied from generalised comments about the disadvantaged social position of black people, to more particular personal experiences that had served as what informants referred to as 'political education'. Two people referred to the murder by police hitsquads of a prominent middle-aged woman, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, a lawyer and highly respected political activist in the Durban area (see Appendix A.1), as the incident that had spurred them into becoming politically conscious:

> "The major turning point in my life was the death of Mrs Mxenge. My mind was altered when I saw a woman butchered like that while she was helping the community. The way she was killed changed my life completely, and I decided to take a very strong lead in changing the wrongs that were taking place in our community. Since that day I have never stopped doing what I think is the right thing." (M13)

Others referred to specific personal experiences of the unrewarding and grim task of job-hunting against the background of high unemployment, or of personal experiences of work under white supervision, as crucial factors in opening their eyes to the country's political injustices:

> "The white man told me that I must break down the wall of the diving board of his swimming pool, but he did not give me a machine to break it with and I was too young and unfit to use the pick he gave me. I told him that this work was too difficult for me, and he asked me if I wanted the job or not. I said I wanted the job, and he said I had to break it whether I liked it or not." (M6)

For many of the male respondents the comrades image presented them with a role model of a strong and powerful being, forging ahead under impossibly difficult circumstances, and taking control of his or her life in conditions of uncertainty and deprivation. It also gave them a chance to define themselves in opposition to the bumbling older generation who, in their view, had bequeathed the youth an unbearably oppressive social reality.

> "The older generation only know about ancient times and ancient things. The youth must correct all the mistakes they have made." (M7)

The 'comrades personality' was defined in terms of total commitment, fearlessness and most important of all masculinity. Subjects emphasised very clearly that comrade activities were not the province of women. The political terrain was defined in terms of danger, conflict and violence, all of which were demarcated as a male preserve. Apart from masculine personality traits, there was a tremendous emphasis on physical prowess and fitness as a key component of masculinity, and the close link between physical strength and violence was frequently referred to. Interviews suggested that the grassroots township struggle has become masculinised in such a way that women are effectively prevented from engaging in the key range of grassroots political activities, attending meetings, participation in crime prevention and the disciplinary action of the Peoples' Courts and so on. This point will be developed in detail in Chapter 8.

Twelve boys spoke of conflict with their parents over their involvement in comrades activities. With the exception of three of the 13 comrades, all said that they hid hid their comrades' involvement from their parents. The three expections were M18, whose mother fully approved of and encouraged his involvement, and M16, whose grandmother was a trade union shop steward at work, and a highly politicised woman. M19 also said he felt free to discuss politics with his mother, although his mother lived in fear that he would get hurt:

> "Mother and I discuss these issues, but women are afraid to be in politics, they are afraid of Inkatha - that if you talk politics they will find you and kill you." (M19)

There was an interesting discrepancy in reports of responses to political involvement by mothers and fathers. While both mothers and fathers were reported to disapprove of

comradeship, they did so for different reasons. Mothers' disapproval tended to be grounded in fear for the safety of their offspring and the family.

> "Mother forbids me from attending meetings because she thinks people will come and burn her house." (M4)

In a few cases informants even felt able to discuss their political involvement with their mothers. These mothers appeared not to be outraged as some fathers at the cheeky youth who dared to involve themselves in community affairs. In no case did an informant feel free to discuss politics with a father.

> "I have been a comrade for a long time, but my (late) father did not know that I was a comrade. He would have chased me from the house. He did not want us to join the struggle." (M4)

Four boys referred to the comrades' practice of violently 'recruiting' members, through threats of burning down their houses if they refused to join. They said initially they had joined the comrades out of fear. However all four of them said that once they had joined the group they had become personally convinced of its value, and would not choose to leave it. However all four expressed disapproval of this practice of forced recruitment.

> "The comrades went from house to house and took away all the boys in the house to join them ... They had weapons and I was terrified. I had no choice but to go with them. But after I had been with them for a while and understood their goals I agreed to be part of them of my own free will." (M8)

ii) Female responses to this challenge

This section has already referred to the gendered nature of the grassroots political arena. Despite the fact that 11 young women referred to racial discrimination as a serious problem facing black people, women tended not to get involved in politics. Compared to their male counterparts, interviews with young women yielded evidence of less interest and involvement by women in the range of grassroots political activities (meetings, crime prevention, Peoples' Courts and political conflict). Five of the 20 young women in the sample called themselves comrades. Of these five, three said they knew very little about politics. One of these three (F17) said she did not know what the aims of the comrades were. She qualified that while she was a comrade she did not see herself as a "staunch comrade" as her sister was, defining "staunch comrade" was one who was actively involved either in street committees or as a marshall at UDF meetings. All three of these young women had political activists in their immediate families. Their comrades identity appeared to be based on their membership of a

'comrades family' (with at least one active comrade in it) rather than through being active comrades in their own right.

Two of the women who called themselves comrades were actively involved in the grouping. The participation of one young woman's (F10) consisted of attendance at political meetings and Peoples' Court hearings. The other female comrade (F12) was an office bearer in a youth organisation. These two women, who appeared to be well informed about politics, both said they had become involved in politics through their own experience and perception of the suffering of black people. F10 came from a family that had recently fled their home after her brother had been accused of killing a rival political member. At the time of the interview he was a prisoner awaiting trial who had been refused bail because, she reported, the magistrate regarded him as too dangerous to release (see Section 6.1). As a result of her brother's involvement her family had had to pay severely for their political convictions. This had given politics an immediacy and seriousness in her social identity that it lacked for almost all the other female respondents. The second well-informed 'comrade' was an upwardly mobile scholar, girlfriend of a medical student, member of her school SRC, and actively involved in organising student politics.

Eight women referred to the political option of supporting Inkatha. Seven said they would never do so, including all five comrades girls and two politically uninvolved girls. They said Inkatha had done nothing visible for the community, despite making many promises. They accused Inkatha of being an elitist organisation, fighting only for the rights of the Zulu people, and not for black people in general.

"Inkatha members are hyper-Zulu's - they fight only for the Zulu's." (F20)

Only one young woman (who said she was not interested in politics, and described herself as "politically neutral") said her late father had been an Inkatha councillor. While she had never discussed politics with him or other family members, she did feel some sort of family loyalty to the grouping.

A total of 15 young women described themselves as politically neutral. Three of these said they were sympathetic to the MDM/ANC, but had chosen not to become personally involved in their activities. One said that while she supported the MDM/ANC in principle, she was too scared to join because of the continual newspaper reports of deaths of political activists. Another said that she sympathised with the MDM/ANC and might consider joining it once she had completed her education, but felt that her top priority was to get her university degree. The third was also

sympathetic, but said she felt she was too young for politics, but would join this grouping when she was older.

Five reasons were given by women for their decision against active political involvement. The first was the view that politics was a male domain:

> "I don't attend meetings because they take you away from home too much. Anyway its mostly boys that go to meetings." (F15)

The second reason given by women was a lack of interest and knowledge about political issues.

> "I don't have any understanding of political issues. No one has ever explained them to me, and I have never asked." (F14)
>
> "The community political leaders do not explain what is going on to us ... I think that as scholars we need clearer political education in our schools." (F15)
>
> "I watch the news on TV but I don't understand what I see. I hear that people in the country have complaints, but I don't really know what these are." (F16)
>
> "I don't support stayaways because I know nothing about them. I can't see what good they would do." (F9)

The third reason offered for non-involvement was satisfaction with the country's social system. Four women chose not to become involved in politics because they did not feel that the country had such pressing social problems.

> "I don't see the need for politics." (F6)
>
> "Our community has no major social problems." (F5)

Two of these subjects said that the route to self-improvement for black people was through education, and not through political change.

> "I do not understand the ANC when they say they want equal rights through political change. If people want those rights they must go to school, and then work. (What do you think of equal rights?) I think you get equal rights from within yourself. (So you don't think there is a problem with the government?) I don't see any problem with the government at all." (F1)

The fourth reason given was a lack of faith in the ability of grassroots political organisations, and in particular the younger generation, to bring about significant political change.

"Most of the younger generation are confused - they think that they have a chance of a bright future if they put politics before education. This is very short-sighted. I put education as my top priority - and leave political involvement until later." (F19)

"These kids call for democracy - but then they try and force us to join their organisations (sarcastic tone of voice)." (F1)

"They call for freedom, they imply that Mandela's release will bring instant freedom. This is all a lot of talk. Politics is more complicated than that. Anyway the blacks couldn't do without the whites to help them." (F15)

The fifth reason, mentioned by three girls, was their view that black people were less competent than white people. For this reason they would not support the fight for black majority rule. (Such negative views of black people were not expressed by any of the male informants.)

"I agree with organisations when they say that black people are oppressed - but I disagree with them when they say that black people should rule the country. I don't think this is possible - so many of them are uneducated compared to whites." (F6)

"Black people might have an idea of things that they want to do, but they can't actually carry these out unless a white man comes and says:'Here, do it this way.' (What do you mean by this?) Look at the example of building a house. In the past years black people used to build ahouse with mud. But now they know how to use bricks. And how is that? The white man came with this idea." (F15)

Two women ascribed the political conflict in the township community to the inherently war-like nature of black people, rather than to broader political problems.

"Blacks are people who always fight with each other." (F16)

"Black people like fighting and rioting." (F9)

The issue of women's general lack of interest and involvement in political activities will be discussed further in Chapter 8 which focusses on the gendered nature of COMRADES membership.

Group memberships

For both men and women the group memberships most frequently associated with this challenge were COMRADES and BLACK. Many youth regarded COMRADES membership as providing the greatest opportunity for political action to alter the position of black South Africans. The membership of BLACK was referred to by the 11 girls and 11 boys who spoke explicitly of the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa.

In the case of women's responses, the third most common group membership on this challenge was the MISCELLANEOUS grouping, which was weighted by the group memberships of APOLITICAL (actively opposed to political activity by youth) and UNPOLITICAL (uninterested in political issues in the township community). The third most common group membership in relation to male responses was that of YOUNGER GENERATION, a grouping which offered youth the possibility of exerting greater political assertiveness than had their parents' generation.

COMRADES distinguished themselves strongly from the out-group of the COMTSOTSIS, bands of youthful criminals who jumped on the political bandwagon, using incidents of political conflict and unrest as a cover for crimes ranging from the mindless stoning and looting of property, to robberies and harrassment of politically neutral or Inkatha-supporting community members (see Section 6.1).

Summary

This challenge concerns the range of political positions available to township youth, with the most frequently cited possibilities being COMRADES member, INKATHA member and POLITICALLY NEUTRAL. The interview data suggested that on the whole political involvement was chiefly a male domain. Boys devoted a significantly greater proportion of their responses to this challenge than their female counterparts. They also interpreted the challenge in the light of a broader range of behavioural options than girls, whose knowledge, interest and involvement in political activities tended to be relatively limited. The two most commonly associated group memberships for both girls and boys were COMRADES and BLACK.

6.19 Adaptative challenge 19

Networking: Choosing a lover

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To have a special boyfriend* (Y=15,N=5)
2. To prefer reliable boys with steady characters (Y=9)
3. To avoid boys who are drinkers (Y=6)
4. To avoid boys who carry knives (Y=5)
5. To prefer boys who are educated (Y=4)
6. To avoid boys who are tsotsis (Y=4)
7. To avoid boys who are unemployed (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To have a special girlfriend* (Y=14, two special girlfriends=2, N=4,)
2. To prefer girls who are well-behaved and respectful (Y=7)
3. To avoid girls who drink or smoke (Y=5)
4. To prefer girls who are clean (Y=4)
5. To find it difficult to find a girlfriend as an unemployed man from a poor family (Y=4)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

Girls devoted a marginally greater proportion of their responses to this challenge than boys (see Figure 6.3). Girls and boys looked for different qualities in a lover. Girls referred to reliability, education and employment as desirable characteristics, as opposed to boys who looked for girls who were well-behaved, respectful and clean. Both boys and girls referred to drinkers as undesirable partners. In addition girls said they would tend to avoid men who carried knives or committed crimes.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=109); Lovers 84 (77%).

Males: (n=94); Lovers 78 (83%); Miscellaneous* 13 (14%).

MISCELLANEOUS included a wide range of categories, including that of UNEMPLOYED.

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included informants' responses regarding whether or not to have a lover, and their views on desirable characteristics in a sexual partner.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

There appeared to be tremendous peer pressure on young township people to find themselves a lover. For young men this was a way of demonstrating one's masculine status, and ideally a man should have as many lovers as possible. A young man without a lover was looked down on by his peers. For a young woman, having a lover gave one access to a world of intrigue and secrecy, that had to be carefully hidden from one's family, and discussed and enjoyed in detail and with pleasure with one's peers. Compared to men however, a young woman who chose to postpone having a boyfriend was sometimes regarded with envy and a trace of malice by her friends, who might whisper behind her back that 'she thinks she's superior to us'. Young women without boyfriends were regarded as standing a better chance of succeeding at school without the distraction of demanding and unreliable young men to take up their time, and without living under the continual threat or reality of teenage pregnancy which would at worst terminate, or at best severely interrupt her studies. Furthermore in a community which admired and encouraged sexual activity amongst young men but which looked down on promiscuous young women, a young woman who had chosen to delay having boyfriends until the completion of her studies would be regarded with admiration in the community at large.

Elaboration of the challenge and gendered differences in its interpretation

The accounts given by boys of their choice of girlfriends were couched in stereotypical images of young womanhood.

> "I like my girlfriend to be always at home, cleaning the house, reading her schoolbooks, keeping herself clean and neat, and only loving me." (M19)

Boys valued qualities such as respectfulness, good behaviour, cleanliness and homeliness in their girlfriends. They expressed disapproval of drinkers and girls who

associated with more than one boy at a time. Such girls were referred to by a range of labels including 'loose women' and 'cheap-line ladies'. Boys also preferred girls who did not have too many female friends, who were regarded as a bad influence, and might encourage each other to be unfaithful.

The two youngest men in the sample, both 17 years old, said they were too young to have girlfriends, but amongst the other boys there appeared to be general acceptance that a young man ought to have a girlfriend. Two men referred to peer pressure as the only reason why they had girlfriends. Finding girlfriends was not an easy task for unemployed men from poor families. For example, M15 said he did not have a girlfriend because he was too poor and useless to attract one. M18 said that while he had bowed under peer pressure and did in fact have a girlfriend, he found her a tremendous burden in his difficult life, and saw women as a source of strife and stress.

> "Women are just a useless activity. My girlfriend comes when I don't have money to buy her a drink, and when I am morally frustrated by other things, and she will come and demand attention that I hardly have. And she will come with her own problems, expecting me to solve them, while I have a lot that are unsolved on my own side." (M18)

M6 commented bitterly about being rejected by "high class girls who only choose men with money and cars", adding that "it is useless to try and force such a snobbish lady to talk to you". He said he chose his girlfriends from those young women who were not proud, and who did not despise those who were poorly off.

Section 6.6 has referred to the amusement expressed by young women in response to the question: "What kind of boyfriend would you choose?", saying that women did not choose men, and that it was men who did the choosing. Initiating sexual relationships was clearly demarcated as a male terrain, where young men would 'propose' to women they were attracted to. This appeared to be the time at which the young women had the greatest amount of power in a relationship. At this stage women <u>were</u> in the position to choose if they were lucky enough to have more than one man was proposing to them. Furthermore they were in a position to choose to leave a current boyfriend if they received a more acceptable proposal from elsewhere.

It was in these situations that they would weigh up the available boys in terms of what they regarded as desirable and undesirable character traits. Girls said they were attracted to boyfriends who showed respectfulness (especially respect for their families), humility, maturity, intelligence, bravery, cheerfulness and sobriety. Some women admired men with forceful personalities. F16 for example said a "strict and

firm approach with his girlfriend" was a desirable trait in a man. A respectful boy was one who did not arrive in person to visit his girlfriend in front of her family, but sent a small child to call her secretly. Furthermore a non-drinker was regarded as a good choice since drunk boyfriends might force a girlfriend to have sex with them against her will. Some young women said they would only love an educated man. F13, who wanted to become a fashion designer, said that only an educated man would tolerate the travelling her job would demand. An uneducated man would become jealous and suspect her of being unfaithful to him in her absence. F6 said she had chosen her boyfriend because he was the only scholar that had proposed to her. F3 also said that scholars made the best boyfriends. ("Without education a boy is nothing." F3) Other desirable traits in boys were church attendance, owning a car and coming from a 'nice family'.

Only two young women mentioned falling in love as a consideration in accepting a boy's proposal of love. F13 said that "love is the most important thing with a boy". F1 was the second girl who cited love as her main motivation in relation to her boyfriend. Coming from a a comrades family and living in a comrades area she had risked her life by having an Inkatha boyfriend (See Section 6.1). Her relationship with him did not seem particularly secure. She said that he had several other women, and she was not sure how he felt about her. At the time of the interview she was in hiding outside the township having received death threats from the comrades under fairly chilling circumstances. Nevertheless when asked if she had ever considered terminating the relationship, she was emphatic that she loved him so much she would never consider such a thing.

Turning to undesirable qualities in a boyfriend, drinkers were sometimes cited as bad boyfriends. F13 said she had once made the mistake of loving a drinker, and had suffered many beatings as a result. In a similar vein, F2 commented that girlfriends of drinkers were always frightened, because they never knew when they would be beaten. Other boys to avoid were those who carried knives and criminals. F20 commented that a girl who loved a thief risked having her washing stolen off the line. Other men to avoid were gossips, stupid or disrespectful men, men that "grabbed at women in the street, who are rude and seldom interesting" (F14), and boys who demanded sex at inconvenient times and without checking whether the woman was interested.

> "I would avoid having a boyfriend who always demanded sex and expected you to miss school to sleep with him. I prefer a boyfriend who understands that I am a serious scholar." (F6)

Various other points were raised regarding the choice of boyfriends. Four girls said they would not date unemployed boys.

> "How could such a boy help me?" F13.

F6 added that such a boy would also be very dull.

> "How could such a boy be interesting, since he is always at home?" (F6).

Uneducated boys were also not regarded as a good prospect.

> "I would not consider an uneducated boy ... We would have nothing in common, and anyway such a boy has no future." (F3)

Older men and white men were also considered undesirable partners by certain informants. F6 recounted, with an expression of extreme distaste on her face, that an "old man" in his 40's had once proposed to her. She said he "must have been mad" to think she would be interested. F14 commented that she would never consider having a relationship with a white man, saying that "only prostitutes dance or sleep with white men".

Group memberships

The most common group membership in relation to this challenge was that of LOVERS. Both men and women associated this group membership with a range of desirable and undesirable character traits and behaviours to look out for in a sexual partner. The MISCELLANEOUS group, which featured in relation to a number of male responses, was associated with a range of group memberships, including that of the UNEMPLOYED, where unemployed boys bemoaned the difficulties they had in finding girlfriends of their choice.

Summary

This challenge referred to the choice of whether or not to have a lover, and the range of qualities that were considered desirable and undesirable in a sexual partner. Girls devoted more responses to this challenge than boys. In outlining characteristics that one should look for or avoid in a lover, respondents of both genders were guided by the criteria for respectability (see Section 7.4.1.)

6.20 Adaptative challenge 20

Networking: choosing friends

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To choose friends with particular character traits*
a) To choose friends who are trustworthy (Y=8)
b) To choose friends who are capable of respecting confidences (Y=8)
c) To choose friends who are respectful and obedient to their parents (Y=6)
d) To choose friends who are willing to give advice and support when necessary (Y=5)
e) To choose friends who are upwardly mobile and ambitious (Y=5)
f) To choose friends who are well-behaved (Y=5)
g) To choose friends who are humble (Y=4)
h) To choose friends who are quiet (Y=4)
i) To choose friends who are homebodies (Y=4)

2. *To choose friends with similar tastes and interests (Y=10)*

3. *To choose friends on the basis of situational factors*
a) To choose friends from one's fellow scholars (Y=11)
b) To choose friends from the same church (Y=5)
c) To choose friends who are children of neighbours (Y=5)

4. *To avoid friends with particular habits*
a) To avoid friendships with drinkers (Y=12)
b) To avoid friendships with women who have many boyfriends (Y=10)
c) To avoid friendships with women who go to discotheques (Y=10)
d) To avoid friendships with young women with unpleasant character traits e.g. bad tempered, nasty, rude (Y=10)
e) To avoid friendships with school drop-outs and unemployed people (Y=7)
f) To avoid friendships with women who hang about in the street (Y=6)
g) To avoid friendships with women who are liars (Y=4)
h) To avoid friendships with women in a different age group or women who already have children (Y=4)
i) To avoid friendships with women who are gossips (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To choose friends with particular character traits*
a) To choose friends who are respectful and obedient to their parents (Y=7)
b) To choose friends who are well-behaved (Y=6)
c) To choose friends who are honest (Y=4)
d) To choose friends who are quiet (Y=4)
e) To choose friends who are clean and neat (Y=4)
f) To choose friends who are homebodies (Y=4)
g) To choose friends who are concerned about improving the community (Y=4)
h) To choose friends who are upwardly mobile and ambitious (Y=4)

2. *To choose friends with similar tastes and interests* (Y≠11)
   Of these 11: friends with shared political goals (Y=4)

3. *To choose friends on the basis of situational factors*
a) *To choose friends from one's fellow scholars* (Y=7)
b) *To choose friends who are children of neighbours* (Y≠4)

4. *To avoid friends with particular habits*
a) To avoid friends who are tsotsis (e.g. thieves, pickpockets, bagsnatchers) (Y≈13)
b) *To avoid friendships with school dropouts and unemployed people (Y=4,N=5)*
c) *To avoid friendships with drinkers* (Y=9)
d) To avoid friendships with comtsotsis (Y≠4,N=5)
e) To avoid friendships with violent men (Y≠6)
f) To avoid friendships with smokers (Y=5)
g) To avoid friendships with police informers (Y=4)
h) To avoid friendships with those using bad language (Y≠4)
i) To avoid friendships with politically neutral people (Y≠4)

5. To consider oneself a member of a youth 'style' group
a) To identify with the Phantsula grouping (Y=11)
b) To identify with the Dude grouping (Y=1, N=5)
   Other groups: Mpathas 1, Amajithas 1.

6. To feel pressurised by family into avoiding 'bad friends' (Y=4)

SUMMARY OF GENDERED DIFFERENCES

There was no significant difference in the proportion of responses devoted to this challenge by men and women (see Figure 6.3), and many of the options associated with this challenge by males and females were similar. Gendered differences included the following:

(i) While both girls and boys referred to the desirability of choosing respectable friends, there were gender-specific criteria for respectability. Section 7.4.1 will suggest that a respectable woman was one who was homebound and sexually faithful. A respectable man was one who avoided the use of violence as a means of solving differences, and who refrained from criminal activities. Consistent with this notion of respectability, women were concerned with avoiding friends who had more than one boyfriend, who went to discotheques and who hung about in the street. Men were concerned with avoiding friends who were criminal, violent or dagga smokers.

(ii) Men appeared to show a greater willingness to compromise on the 'respectability criterion' for choosing friends, with several saying they did in fact have friends amongst the unemployed and the tsotsis.

(iii) Consistent with their greater involvement in political issues, men were also concerned to avoid friendships with those on the 'wrong political side' (police informers, comtsotsis, politically neutral people), an option that was not referred to by women.

(iv) Consistent with their greater preoccupation with issues relating to lovers, and to the importance of keeping one's sexual relationships a secret, a number of women referred to the importance of choosing friends who were capable of respecting confidences.

(v) The most striking gendered difference in the interpretation of this challenge was the exclusively male option of membership of a variety of youth style groups, such as the DUDES and the PHANTSULAS.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=194); Friends 93 (48%); Educated/scholar 26 (13%); Decent citizen 24 (12%); Family 15; Gender 15; Lovers 14.

Males: (n=249); Friends 74 (30%); Decent citizen 65 (26%); Miscellaneous* 45 (18%); Educated/scholar 20; Family 18; Comrades 16.

*MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by PHANTSULAS

C: COMMENTARY

Nature of the challenge

This challenge included matters relating to the choice of friends of the same gender. All subjects referred to friendships with people of the same gender (apart from one male and one female informant) and generally of a similar age to themselves.

Circumstances giving rise to the challenge

Underlying the accounts given by most of the informants was a strong sense of purpose to improve themselves, and to forge opportunities for adult lives that would be less burdened by poverty and struggle than their childhoods had been. In this regard, implicit in their frame of reference was a division of young people into two groups. The first group consisted of those who were respectable, honest, ambitious and on the way towards a 'bright future'. These were the young people that had the greatest chance of success. The second and less promising group consisted of those who were dishonest, criminals, drinkers or promiscuous. This grouping included unemployed school dropouts, women who had fallen pregnant at a young age, and young men who

had turned to crime. Most informants went to great lengths to associate themselves with the respectable and upwardly mobile category of youth and to distance themselves from the other grouping. Even in those cases where they cited instances of friendships with those who did not conform to the respectable category, they still paid elaborate lip service to the desirability of this choice of companions (See Section 7.4.1 for discussion of the 'rhetoric of respectability and respect').

Elaboration of the challenge, and gendered differences in its interpretation

Apart from the male-specific option of membership of youth style groups, which is discussed at the end of this section, most of the options associated with this challenge are self-explanatory. The first part of this section refers to three criteria for choosing friends that cut across the options cited above. These criteria related to the respectability of one's friends, the gender of one's friends and the age of one's friends.

Beginning with the 'respectability criterion', amongst both boys and girls the general picture of a desirable friend was one who embodied a range of socially acceptable traits. Such a friend was respectable, usually a non-drinker, upwardly mobile and well-behaved. Young men specified that friends should be free from criminal tendencies. Young women specified that friends should preferably be non-promiscuous and home-oriented. Friends also served as important allies in one's plans for upward mobility.

> "Ambitious friends will encourage me for a bright future." (F3)
>
> "We motivate each other through feeling envy when another succeeds." (F19)

Young women appeared less willing to make exceptions to the general rule of choosing respectable friends. Men allowed for two broad expections to the 'respectability criterion' for choosing friends. In the first several young men said that they were prepared to overlook the fact that certain of their friends had vices. Five boys said they had close friendships with tsotsis, based on their common interest in gambling or drinking in shabeens. While all five said they disapproved of these friends in principle, there were various reasons why they were prepared to make allowances for these friends.

> "I disapprove of them when they fight, but otherwise we get on well" (M17).
>
> "They do dangerous things to people sometimes - but they are my friends and would not harm me." (M9)
>
> "I like these people because it is boring to sit at home." (M5).

In the second exception to the 'respectability rule' several young men said they befriended the unemployed and school dropouts due to a sense of community-mindedness and lack of pride.

> "I am not someone who prefers high class to ordinary people - I am friendly also with the poor, the downtrodden and the disabled in the community." (M6)
>
> "I accept all kinds of people as my friends - even the unemployed." (M13)

These responses were associated with informants' membership of the group of ONE OF THE PEOPLE, those black people who were loyal to their humble origins, despite ambitions to improve themselves. Such an attitude also had a political dimension. Since black people shared the common plight of racial oppression, they should be respected no matter what their individual circumstances and no matter what depths their oppressed social circumstances had driven them to. However despite these two exceptions to the rule, on the whole, drinkers and criminals were widely cited by young men as friends to avoid, usually for moral reasons, but sometimes for more pragmatic reasons.

> "I wouldn't make friends with a thief - he might come and steal from my house." (M9).

Despite their insistence that friendships with drinkers should be avoided, young men referred to a degree of peer pressure to indulge in criminal activities. M8 commented that former friends of his who had turned to crime had tried their best to recruit him to their gang, and even threatened to kill him when he refused. M5 commented rather wistfully that those boys who drank and smoked *dagga* were the most popular in the community, particularly those who had money to buy *dagga* for their friends too. He said that those boys who stayed at home and behaved themselves were generally the least popular.

Families attempted to influence young men to observe to the respectability criterion for friendship. Four men commented that their families disapproved of some of their friends, forbidding certain of them to visit the house, and chasing them away if they came to visit.

> "My father sometimes chases my friends out of the house, he dislikes them, and says they are drinkers." (M15)
>
> "My family disapproves of my friends. They say they will lead me to *dagga* and stealing." (M5)

Several young men specified political affiliations as criteria for friendship, saying they would avoid friendships with police informers, politically neutral people and comtsotsis. Only one young woman (F19) mentioned politics in relation to friendship, stating that she was happy to be friendly with anyone regardless of their political allegiances. However she added that since she lived in a comrades area, she would never tell anyone she had a close Inkatha friend at her boarding school for fear of being branded a 'sell-out'.

The second criterion for friendship related to the gender of one's friends. In nearly every case both male and female informants referred to friends as people of the same gender. There were two exceptions. The first exception was M18 who referred to a close and happy non-sexual friendship with a young woman. He said this friendship was regarded as unusual by his peers.

> "They are suspicious that she is my girlfriend, and don't believe me when I say she is not." (F18)

The second exception was F3, who referred to a close platonic friendship with a young man. She said that he had taught her many lessons in life, an important one of these being that "all men are wolves", and that a young woman ought not to trust them. She in turn gave him advice on how to behave with his girlfriends.

The third criterion of friendship referred to the age of one's friends. In addition to the general requirement that friends be of the same gender as oneself, was the requirement that one should choose friends of the same age group as oneself. Numerous references were made to this in various contexts in the interviews. M14's grandparents had brought him from a poverty-stricken rural area to start school in the township four years after the general age at which children start school. He spoke at length of his humiliation at being stuck in a class with much younger boys. F14 (aged 23) commented at length on her association with a 30-year-old woman in the neighbourhood. The older woman had a well-paid job in the bank, and it appeared that F14 admired her greatly and often spent time in her house, helping her iron her smart clothes and so on. However F14 stressed how boring she found it when the 30-year-old woman told her about her love affairs, saying that there was no way in which she could possibly be interested in the love affairs of someone so much her senior. She said that while she had great admiration for the woman she found the older woman's attempts to confide in her embarrassing and inappropriate.

This section concludes with an account of the most strikingly gender-specific option associated with this challenge, that of membership of youth style groups. Eleven young

men categorised themselves as members of the PHANTSULAS, and one as a member of the DUDES. Membership of these groupings involved a particular 'style' characterised by particular ways of dressing, dancing, talking and relating to women. The precise nature of the 'style' is subtle and intangible. Despite the researcher's attempt to probe this area in some depth during the interviews, data analysis revealed that interview material in this regard was scanty. Membership of the DUDES and PHANTSULAS was not associated with a clearly identifiable list of behavioural options as membership of the COMRADES was, for example, and informants were often very vague in their responses to questions about these groups.

DUDE or PHANTSULA group identification tended to influence the young mens' selection of both friends and girlfriends, with young men tending to be attracted to forming friendships with others of the same group. Young women who went out with Phantsula boys were referred to by the special label of the 'Umshozis' (although it seemed that these women had nothing specific in common beyond their attachment to PHANTSULA men).

Amongst the respondents, only one subject (M10) said he called himself a DUDE. He quickly qualified this by saying that he was not a "real DUDE" because he did not have money to buy the expensive and sophisticated clothes that the DUDES preferred. He characterised the DUDES as well-behaved, fun-loving 'ladies men', who spent a lot of money on their clothes and shoes, and spent their time in places like the Wheel and the Workshop (upmarket city malls with shops, restaurants and cinemas).

> "You can see a DUDE by the way they talk - they click their fingers like this (demonstrated) while they talk ... and they are just very very cool. They copy the Negro style, saying 'Hey man' and so on, and the girls generally prefer to deal with the DUDES than with the PHANTSULAS." (M10)

One of the PHANTSULAS in the sample wistfully echoed M10's claims regarding the sophistication of the DUDES, and their relative popularity amongst young women.

> "One day I may change to becoming a DUDE. It is hard to be a DUDE because the clothes are too expensive but I may change if I ever have enough money to buy the clothes. They are getting more and more popular and taking over - and the girls like them very much." (M16)

However M16's envy of the DUDES was an exception amongst the PHANTSULAS in the sample. Most of the PHANTSULAS were very dismissive of the DUDES, who they described as effete, 'sissies', and 'limp-wristed'. PHANTSULAS also criticised the DUDES for being too soft with their girlfriends. In Section 6.3 reference is made to the PHANTSULAS reputation for their rough approach to their girlfriends.

> "A Phantsula will beat his girlfriend very severely if she misbehaves. Phantsula girls are generally very well disciplined. They know that they should not put a foot wrong." (M15)

In contrast to the soft and unmasculine DUDES, the PHANTSULAS characterised themselves as 'real men'. They were men whose women knew their (submissive) place, and who were masculine, aggressive, hard-drinking and hard-living. This image was communicated in statements such as the following.

> "The DUDES fear the PHANTSULAS because they don't know how to fight." (M1)

The PHANTSULA group was closely associated with the activity of PHANTSULA dancing, an energetic and joyful style of dancing performed to popular township music mostly by young men, and greatly enjoyed by township people of all ages. Those young men who characterised themselves as PHANTSULAS associated the group with 'good wholesome fun', energetic young people who dressed up in colourful clothes (such as trousers with wide bottoms and colourful strips of cloth sewn up the side of each leg) and involved themselves in safe and constructive dancing activities which kept them out of trouble, and brought happiness to their spectators.

> "I am practicing the dance and will join the PHANTSULAS as soon as I have mastered it. They give a lot of joy, and don't do wrong." (M14)

On the other hand non-PHANTSULAS in the sample tended to characterise the group as having a 'criminal element'

> "Although I like the way the PHANTSULAS dress I don't want to be one of them. They are mainly tsotsis, they carry knives, they steal a lot and they do heavy things. PHANTSULA work is just to undermine people, they make fear when they visit *braai's* (barbecues) and cause trouble because they want to fight." (M18)

Those young men that called themselves PHANTSULAS appeared to be aware of their negative image amongst some community members, and emphatically denied its validity.

> "In most cases people say that PHANTSULAS are criminals - but this is not true at all." (M1)

Besides the DUDES and the PHANTSULAS, two men referred to their membership of two other youth groupings, the first regretfully and the second proudly. The first, M15, said that while he would have liked to be regarded as a PHANTSULA, the youth in the

township had labelled him as an MPATHA, a rural person, generally regarded as something of a 'clod' and far less smart and streetwise than the urban youth.

> "Others in the township see me as an Mpatha, because I spent some time in the rural area, and because my family came to Durban from Zululand, looking for work." (M15)

The second grouping the AMAJITHAS, were referred to by M18. Having disdainfully dismissed the PHANTSULAS for their criminal behaviour, and the DUDES because they "are too clothes conscious and shallow and not interested in ideas", M18 described himself as a member of the U-OUTIE or AMAJITHA group. He described this grouping as those open-minded and tolerant youth who were not closely affiliated to any grouping such as the DUDES, or the PHANTSULAS or the MPATHA'S.

> "We the Amajitha's are flexible and relaxed, and mix with everyone, be they DUDES or PHANTSULAS, comrades or anyone." *(M18)*

While both the DUDE and several of the PHANTSULAS in the sample claimed that their own particular group was associated with the comrades, no clear-cut relationship between comrades and any one particular 'style groups' emerged in the interviews.

In contrast to 14 of the men, only one woman, F19, referred to identification with a youth style group. She was the only informant who had been at a private boarding school, and had already been accepted at university. She identified with a style group called the YUPPIES[35], which she characterised in terms of an interpersonal style, a mode of dress, and an upwardly mobile and ambitious temperament. The YUPPIES preferred a more casual approach to life, as opposed to many township people who were more formal in their dress and interpersonal style. This casual approach was evidenced in their their relaxed, 'cool' and out-going style of relating to others, as well as their tendency to wear informal fashionable clothes with labels such as Carducci. She distinguished this style of dress from that of many young working class township women who dressed in a more formal, conservative and less fashionable way, "those girls who wear high heels, pantihose and so on who are never casual". She also characterised YUPPIES in terms of their ambitions.

> "(What do Yuppies want out of life?) They want success, they want lots of money, they are very ambitious." (F19)

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35 F19 was amused at the researcher's suggestion that the first four letters of the word YUPPIE might stand for 'Young, upwardly mobile, professional person', saying she had never heard this before.

YUPPIES were also characterised by their desire to have fun, and their enjoyment of loud music and night-clubs although F19 said that she herself had never been to a night-club. F19 said the greatest failing of the YUPPIES was their tendency to be snobbish. Most came from rich middle class families, and in this respect her membership of this group was often problematic, given her own working class origins.

> "Most come from wealthy families, and sometimes they forget that I don't have as much money as they do, and pressurise me to spend more money than I have."

Apart from F19, no other female informant referred to membership of a style group of this nature.

Group memberships

For both men and women the self-categorisation of FRIEND, generally with connotations of respectability and mutual support, was the most influential group membership informing their choice of friends. The category of DECENT CITIZEN also rated highly and was associated with an emphasis on non-drinking, the view of some informants that one should strive to be ONE OF THE PEOPLE in one's choice of friends, and upwardly mobile ambitions. The category of EDUCATED was also associated with the notion of choosing friends who would be useful allies in the struggle for self-improvement. For male subjects the MISCELLANEOUS category was heavily weighted with self-categorisations of the PHANTSULAS and the DUDES.

Summary

This challenge categorised options relating to two broad areas. The first area related to the choice of friends. A number of gender-specific interpretations of these options were discussed. These included gendered criteria for respectability, a greater readiness by men than women to break the 'respectability rule', a greater tendency by men than women to refer to political allegiances in choosing friends, and the greater value placed by women than men on friends who could be trusted with secrets. Three broad criteria for choosing friends were outlined: the respectability criterion, the gender criterion and the age criterion. The second broad area included in this challenge was that of membership of youth 'style groups' (e.g. DUDES, PHANTSULAS). The interviews suggested that the option of membership of such style groups was almost exclusively male. The group membership most frequently associated with this challenge by both genders was that of FRIENDS. This group membership was associated with a wide range of desirable and undesirable characteristics to seek out or avoid respectively in choosing ones friends.

6.21 Summary

In Chapters 3 and 5 the development of the project's model of social identity is outlined in terms of a trialogue between ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES, BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS and GROUP MEMBERSHIPS. These three concepts, along with the category of gender, served as core categories for qualitative data analysis. Chapter 6 has outlined the results of this analysis, giving an account of the 20 challenges facing youth, and the behavioural options and group memberships associated with each challenge by females and males. Sections 6.1 to 6.7 give an account of challenges in the CODE OF CONDUCT challenge cluster. Sections 6.8 to 6.11 outline the challenges in the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE cluster. Sections 6.12 to 6.20 deal with the challenges in the NETWORKING cluster. Each of these sections includes a detailed elaborative commentary, which provides background to those options that are not self-explanatory, and comments on similarities and differences in female and male perceptions of challenges.

Chapter 6 also provides quantitative accounts of gendered differences in the proportion of responses associated with each particular challenge on each challenge cluster (Figures 6.1 to 6.3), and the proportion of responses associated with each group membership on each challenge cluster (Figures 6.4 to 6.6). Figure 6.7 provides a summary of gendered differences in the proportion of responses associated with each group membership, irrespective of challenge cluster.

In this section brief concluding comments about each challenge cluster are provided in turn. Reference is made to a few of the most marked gendered differences in the cluster, and to group memberships associated with the cluster. It must be noted that the points made in this chapter consist of broad generalisations, some of which will be picked up and qualified in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

i) CODE OF CONDUCT Challenge Cluster

The first cluster of adaptative challenges presented to township youth relates to the task of formulating a code of conduct for personal behaviour and for relationships in the interpersonal and public spheres of life. Turning to gendered differences on this cluster, women devoted a significantly greater proportion of results to the challenges of FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT and SEXUAL CONDUCT (Figure 6.1). Both these challenges yielded evidence of double standards in the behavioural options available to

women and to men. Young men were accorded a greater degree of independence in their freedom of movement than young women who were expected to centre their lives around the physical locations of home and (where relevant) school, and not to move freely beyond these boundaries without permission from family members or lovers. In contrast, men were relatively free to come and go as they pleased and where they pleased. Gendered differences in options relating to sexual behaviour also accorded men a greater degree of freedom and independence than women. They also accorded men a far greater degree of power in sexual relationships. Women were expected to be faithful to one sexual partner, men were not. Women carried the burden of fears of pregnancy, men did not. Women were expected to obey their lovers, men were not. On the CODE OF CONDUCT challenge cluster, the group memberships of FAMILY, LOVERS, GENDER and the CHURCH were associated with a significantly greater proportion of female than male responses. These four groups were cited in relation to the range of challenges in this cluster, but most particularly those of INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT and SEXUAL CONDUCT.[36]

Speaking generally, each of these four groups (FAMILY, LOVERS, GENDER and CHURCH) tended to support gendered double standards of behaviour in the formulation of a CODE OF CONDUCT. Many brothers and boyfriends appeared to have an interest in policing the sexuality, movements and friendships of their sisters and girlfriends, on the assumption that a badly behaved sister or girlfriend reflected poorly on the dignity and status of her family or boyfriend. These generalisations about the influence of various group memberships on women reflect broad trends in the data. Some will be qualified in Chapter 8 where it will be suggested that in certain, albeit very limited, respects group memberships available to women, especially GENDER and the FAMILY, present the possibility of developing more empowering life options.

With regard to CODE OF CONDUCT responses, men devoted a significantly greater proportion of responses to the challenges of CRIME and POLITICAL CONFLICT than women (Figure 6.1). With high levels of poverty and alienation the challenge of formulating a code of conduct in response to high levels of crime in the community was an important one. Options available to youth in this respect fell into three broad areas: participation in community crime prevention activities, participation in the crime punishment activities of the Peoples' Courts, and participation in criminal activities.

36 Throughout this section the gendered breakdowns of group memberships associated with individual challenges are drawn from Part B of Sections 6.1 to 6.20. Part B in these sections gives a more detailed challenge-by-challenge account of gender-group relationships than Figures 6.4 to 6.6, which provide an account of group memberships in relation to the three challenge clusters rather than the 20 individual challenges.

This challenge was less important for women, whose involvement in community affairs tended to be more restricted than that of men. Against the backdrop of sharp political divisions within South African society, involvement in POLITICAL CONFLICT was also an option for youth, but here again involvement in this aspect of community affairs was regarded as the province of men rather than women. Men showed a preference for violent conflict resolution as opposed to women who preferred non-violence. Men tended to become personally involved in political conflict more often than women, and referred to a broader range of political enemies than their female counterparts. On the few occasions where women did show some interest in acts of political resistance, they justified this in terms of concrete bread and butter issues (e.g. poor school conditions) as opposed to men, who tended to justify their involvement in terms of inter-group emnity *per se*. On the CODE OF CONDUCT challenge cluster, the group memberships of COMRADES and MISCELLANEOUS were associated with a significantly greater proportion of male than female responses. COMRADES membership presented boys with a variety of options relating to participation in community affairs, particularly in relation to the challenges of CRIME, POLITICAL CONFLICT and INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT. The MISCELLANEOUS category, associated with most of the challenges on this cluster, was weighted with a number of group memberships available to men and not to women. These included for example PHANTSULAS, GAMBLERS, DRINKERS, and MEMBER OF A FOOTBALL CLUB. The greater number of group memberships available to men than women is consistent with men's relative freedom to move beyond the confines of home and school, and to involve themselves in a broader array of activities beyond these boundaries.

While there was no significant gendered difference in the proportion of responses devoted to the challenges of INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT, INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT and ALCOHOL, there was evidence for a number of gendered differences in their interpretation. With regard to the INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT challenge, men referred to interpersonal conflicts in a broader array of different situations than women. As was the case in relation to the POLITICAL CONFLICT challenge, men tended to show a marked preference for the violent resolution of interpersonal disagreements, as opposed to women who invariably preferred non-violent resolution of interpersonal conflicts. With regard to INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT, women devoted more attention to housework than men. The option of challenging the old-fashioned norm of unconditional respect for adults was raised only by young men, and not women. With regard to the ALCOHOL challenge the option of visiting shabeens, drinking and smoking tended to be chosen more frequently by men than by women.

So far this section has referred only to those group memberships associated with significantly different proportions of male and female responses. Six group memberships were not associated with significant gendered differences. Of these six, Figure 6.4 indicates that in relation to the CODE OF CONDUCT challenge cluster four groups were associated with a minimal number of responses. These were the group memberships of BLACK, FRIENDS, URBAN and YOUNGER GENERATION.

The groups of DECENT CITIZEN and EDUCATED were mentioned more frequently than the preceding four. While both these groupings tended to be associated with a variety of options on this cluster, the grouping of DECENT CITIZEN was most frequently associated with the challenges of CRIME and ALCOHOL, usually in connection with decisions not to drink or participate in crime. The grouping of EDUCATED was frequently associated with the challenge of POLITICAL CONFLICT relating to participation in school boycotts.

ii) PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE Challenge Cluster

Given the difficult life circumstances of most working class township youth, the challenge cluster of PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE featured prominently in the interviews. Informants were unanimous in their desire for a 'bright future' for themselves (often relating to the challenges of EDUCATION and CAREER PLANS), for their families (FAMILY LIFE) and for the community (COMMUNITY UPLIFTMENT).

Young men devoted significantly more attention than young women to the challenge of COMMUNITY UPLIFTMENT (see Figure 6.2). Girls were less interested and less well-informed about community issues than boys. Furthermore while girls' responses generally focussed on community problems with few references to possible solutions, boys' responses focussed on both community problems and the social changes that would be necessary to overcome these problems. The second challenge associated with a greater proportion of male than female responses was the challenge of EDUCATION. This was partly because boys devoted a number of responses to the issues of education as a way of keeping 'out of trouble', and education as a prerequisite for political effectiveness, with the possibility of 'getting into trouble' and politics being issues of greater concern to boys than girls. The importance of EDUCATION may also have been referred to more frequently by boys because women always have the socially sanctioned identities of child-minder and house-keeper to fall back on if their education

and career plans crumble. Boys do not have these options. This point will be taken up in Chapter 8.

Young women devoted a greater proportion of responses to the challenge of FAMILY LIFE, and showed evidence for a greater sense of responsibility to their family of origin than young men. Female responses on this challenge were also weighted by debates about the possible advantages and disadvantages of marriage, an issue that did not preoccupy men, most of whom uproblematically assumed that they would marry. There was no gendered difference in attention to the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE challenge of OCCUPATION, with both boys and girls seeing a 'professional' career as the key to the brightest possible future for a young township person and her/his family.

The group memberships most frequently associated with this challenge cluster by both men and women were EDUCATED, the FAMILY and MISCELLANEOUS (see Figure 6.5). The EDUCATED and FAMILY groupings were generally associated with informants' hopes for a bright future where they would become educated and be able to afford a comfortable standard of living for themselves and their families, free from the hardship that had characterised their own upbringings. The FAMILY grouping was also associated with responses relating to parents' hopes for their children. Many struggling township parents had pinned their hopes on the possibility of their offspring becoming educated, and there was frequent reference to the advice and encouragement given to youth by parents in formulating their future plans. In relation to the COMMUNITY UPLIFTMENT category, the MISCELLANEOUS grouping was heavily weighted by the category of MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY *in responses relating to* the social problems facing the township community. In relation to the other three PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE challenges the MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by the category of PROFESSIONAL PERSON, a grouping that many informants aspired to in their dreams for the future.

The group membership of COMRADES was associated with a greater proportion of male than female responses, with involvement in the COMRADES grouping offering young men the opportunity to participate in a range of community-oriented and political activities in relationship to the COMMUNITY UPLIFTMENT challenge. The group membership of GENDER was associated with more female than male responses on this cluster, particularly in relation to the challenge of OCCUPATION. Chapter 8 will point to the ambiguity of the GENDER grouping, suggesting that while this category almost invariably restricted women on the CODE OF CONDUCT challenges, this was not always the case in relation to the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE challenges. In

regard to the latter cluster, the GENDER category was frequently cited in relation to the possibility of economic independence for women; and what several women regarded as the empowering possibility of single parenthood rather than marriage with its attendant restrictions and disadvantages for wives.

Six group memberships did not show any evidence of significant gendered differences on this cluster (see Figure 6.5). These were BLACK, the CHURCH, DECENT CITIZEN, FRIENDS, LOVERS, URBAN and YOUNGER GENERATION. Apart from two exceptions, these groupings were associated with a minimal number of responses across the four challenges in the cluster. The first exception was the group membership of DECENT CITIZEN. It was strongly associated with women's responses to the COMMUNITY UPLIFTMENT challenge, where it was cited by women in distancing themselves from high levels of crime, violence and alcohol consumption. Secondly, the category of BLACK was frequently associated with men's responses to the COMMUNITY UPLIFTMENT challenge. Here this group membership was cited in relation to the racial discrimination that was seen as the basis for the community's problems.

iii) NETWORKING Challenge Cluster

This cluster of challenges concerns the establishment of social networks by youth in response to nine challenges. These relate to issues such as mobilising material and emotional support, mobilising guidance on day-to-day life issues and constructing a political identity. Women devoted a significantly greater proportion of their responses to four particular NETWORKING CHALLENGES, which are mentioned in turn (see Figure 6.3). The first of these, EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, referred to the challenge of mobilising encouragement in the struggle to become educated as well as help in solving concrete study problems. While men tended to refer more frequently than women to the importance of education in general terms in the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE: EDUCATION challenge, in fact 16 women in the sample were currently pursuing their studies as opposed to 12 men (See Table 4.1). This is consistent with the fact that there are more girls than boys in black South African high schools (Appendix A.1). This factor would contribute to the higher proportion of female responses on this challenge. The second NETWORKING challenge associated with a greater proportion of female than male responses was that of EMOTIONAL SUPPORT. The most marked difference in gendered interpretations of this category were the relatively large number of female responses relating to gaining spiritual support from church attendance. This is not suprising given that 19 women as opposed

to seven men in the sample identified themselves as church-goers. The third challenge is HAVING FUN, a challenge associated with a significantly greater proportion of female than male responses. Girls' leisure activities tended to be centred around their own and homes and families, the homes and families of their female friends, and their lovers. Boys referred to more leisure activities and interests, many of them unrelated to home, family and lovers. On the fourth challenge of CHOOSING LOVERS, the larger proportion of female than male responses is consistent with girls' greater preoccupation with family and sexual relationships throughout the interviews than their male counterparts. Gendered criteria for choices of lovers differed. Women were more pragmatic in their approach, citing criteria such as education, reliability and employment. A wisely chosen lover could serve as an assistant in the task of personal upliftment. A woman who accepted proposals from an unemployed man or a drinker was merely introducing yet another source of worry and strife into her life. Boys' criteria were less pragmatic. Boys tended to look for girlfriends who would enhance their masculine status in terms of characteristics such as virtue and fidelity, rather than expecting their lovers to offer them practical assistance in meeting their life goals.

The two challenges to which boys devoted significantly more attention than girls were MATERIAL SUPPORT and POLITICAL IDENTITY. The township community is dominated by the ideology of the male breadwinner (despite much evidence to the contrary, especially in female-headed families), and this was reflected in the interviews, with young women tending to refer only to asking others for material support, as opposed to young men who also referred to a number of active options for making money. With regard to the constructing of a POLITICAL IDENTITY, men showed evidence for a greater awareness and understanding of the political struggles going on around them, as well as a higher level of involvement in grassroots political activities.

There were three challenges which were not associated with gendered differences in the associated proportion of responses. The first of these was BROADENING HORIZONS, the challenge to extend the boundaries of one's world beyond the narrow confines of the township community, which was interpreted similarly by boys and girls. The second and third of these challenges were GUIDANCE and CHOOSING FRIENDS. There were differences in the interpretations given to these challenges by young women and young men. In relation to the challenge of GUIDANCE, girls referred to the option of seeking advice in matters of love more frequently than boys. Furthermore girls referred to more sources of advice and influence than boys. Boys referred specifically to consulting older men as sources of advice, an option not

referred to by girls. Furthermore there was a greater tendency for boys to openly question the suitability of their parents' recipes for living in the face of the demands of modern township life. There were also gendered differences in the interpretation of the challenge of CHOOSING FRIENDS. While both boys and girls tended to point to the importance of choosing upwardly mobile and respectable friends, gendered criteria for respectability differed, a point that will be discussed at length in Section 7.4.1. Consistent with the general picture of less pressure on boys to behave in a virtuous way, boys were more willing to compromise on the 'respectability rule' for friendship. They were sometimes more concerned with the political allegiances of potential friends than their respectability for example. The option of identification with youth style groups (e.g. PHANTSULAS) mentioned by several men was not a common option for women.

On the networking challenge cluster a significantly greater proportion of female responses was associated with the group memberships of CHURCH, FAMILY and LOVERS (see Figure 6.6). CHURCH membership was most frequently cited by women in relation to the EMOTIONAL SUPPORT challenge. Membership of the LOVERS grouping was frequently associated with girls' responses to the challenges of HAVING FUN, MATERIAL SUPPORT, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT and CHOOSING LOVERS. While FAMILY membership was cited in relation to a number of challenges by both men and women, it appeared more frequently in womens' responses. This was in line with the overall trend in the interviews where the FAMILY featured more in female responses than in male responses (see Figure 6.7).

A significantly greater proportion of male responses was associated with COMRADES, DECENT CITIZEN, YOUNGER GENERATION and MISCELLANEOUS. The COMRADES grouping was referred to most often in connection with boys' responses to the POLITICAL IDENTITY challenge. It was also associated with responses on many of the other NETWORKING challenges, in line with the general interest and involvement of many young men in grassroots political activities under the auspices of this grouping. Boys mentioned the DECENT CITIZEN category most often in relation to the challenge of CHOOSING FRIENDS who were respectable and ambitious. The MISCELLANEOUS category was mentioned in connection with the broad range of challenges, but in particular HAVING FUN and MATERIAL SUPPORT, where a broad range of groupings provided young men with options relating to leisure, and to possibilities and constraints on mobilising material support. The YOUNGER GENERATION category featured in association with three particular challenges, (i) BROADENING HORIZONS, where boys expressed a sense of having broader

horizons than their parents; (ii) GUIDANCE, where several men engaged in debate about the relative adaptive success of the life skills of the older and the younger generations; and (iii) POLITICAL IDENTITY, where politicised youth defined themselves in sharp contrast to the politically timid older generation.

There was no significant gendered difference in the association of NETWORKING challenges with the categories of BLACK, EDUCATED, GENDER and URBAN, all four of which were associated with a minimal proportion of responses (see Figure 6.6). In the NETWORKING cluster, the group membership of BLACK was most commonly associated with the challenge of constructing a POLITICAL IDENTITY, given the racial basis of so many community problems. EDUCATED was most frequently associated with the challenge of EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, where fellow scholars served as key sources of educational encouragement and assistance. There was no clear association between the GENDER and any particular NETWORKING challenge. URBAN was most frequently associated with the BROADENING HORIZONS category, with large numbers of responses in this category dealt with comparisons between urban and rural lifestyles. The group membership of FRIENDS was mentioned more frequently by informants of both genders. While this group was mentioned very seldom on the CODE OF CONDUCT and PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE challenge clusters, it was an oft-cited category in relation to a range of NETWORKING challenges. These included EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, HAVING FUN, GUIDANCE, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT and CHOOSING FRIENDS. Both boys and girls referred to their friends as key resources, providing not only pleasant company, but also various forms of advice and support.

iv) Some common themes

This section concludes with six general differences in emphasis between male and female identity cutting across the three challenge clusters.

i) Focus of identity: In giving an account of their identities, girls tended to place more emphasis on concerns relating to the private spheres of home, family and lovers than their male counterparts. Boys on the other hand tended to focus on the public world outside of the home, showing a greater interest and involvement in community affairs than girls.

ii) Behavioural restrictions: The double standards governing the behavioural possibilities of young women and young men meant that women's freedom to control their lives was limited by a greater range of behavioural restrictions than those facing their male counterparents, who were presented with far more opportunities for independence and personal control over their day-to-day lives than women.

iii) Commitment to respectability: Both young men and young women frequently referred to the importance of behaving in a virtuous and respectable way. While strict conforming to virtue and respectability were an essential prerequisite for a positive social identity for young women however, young men were given more space to transgress these criteria. In fact a certain degree of rebelliousness and 'bad behaviour' was considered quite acceptable in young men.

iv) Attitude to social hierarchies: A theme which preoccupied many youth in the sample was that of social hierarchies of age, race and class. Boys showed a greater resistance to social hierarchies, and were far more likely to challenge them than girls, who tended to be more accepting of their subordinate social status in wider South African society than their male counterparts. Boys tended to refer to alternative power relations to those characterising the status quo more frequently than girls. (Attention to gender hierarchies was limited, see Chapter 8).

v) Challenging styles: The style used by boys for challenging what they considered as unacceptable social relationships in both the private and public spheres tended to be more open and challenging than that of girls who tended to proceed more indirectly. On the relatively few occasions where girls challenged social norms they did so covertly, as opposed to boys whose repertoire of strategies ranged from argument to violence in situations of conflict, where boys were far more preoccupied with being seen to be 'in control' in their various social interactions than young women were.

vi) Alternative life possibilities: Compared to young men there was a tendency amongst young women to construct their identities in terms of the concrete everyday details of their lives, grounded in their day-to-day realities. In shaping their visions of the future young women tended to do so in the light of more concrete possibilities than young men. Girls tended to be more individualistic and family-based in giving accounts of their lives than boys, whose accounts of their identities tended to be more community-based than girls' accounts. Compared to boys, girls often grounded their identities in terms of pragmatic bread-and-butter ideals within the realm of what was immediately possible. Young men had a greater sense of alternative life possibilities, with a greater tendency to shape their visions of the future in the light of rhetoric, political slogans and visions, and not necessarily grounded in the everyday details of their lives.

Chapter 1 outlined the substantive, methodological and theoretical goals of the current research. In line with its substantive interest in the social identity of township youth, Chapter 6 has provided a mine of information about youth identity. Section 6.22 assesses the extent to which this chapter contributes to the task of meeting the research's theoretical and methodological goals.

6.22 Concluding comments: methodological and theoretical goals.

In what way does Chapter 6 take the thesis forward in terms of its theoretical and methodological goals? In answering this question this section looks firstly at the trialogue model of identity, and then turns to the issue of the gendered nature of social identity formation.

To what extent does Chapter 6 provide suggestive evidence for the trialogue model? How does the model begin to address some of the criticisms of social identity theory? In terms of the project's methodological goal, evidence presented in Chapter 6 suggests that the operationalisation of social identity according to the trialogue model forms a useful framework for the analysis of open-ended 'identity talk'[37], and one which takes account of the social context of identity construction.

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37 This term is borrowed from Steven Reicher.

It is suggested that this model also takes the thesis forward in terms of the project's theoretical goal of theorising the interaction of individual and society in the process of identity construction. Mainstream social identity theory gives an account of the cognitive processes involved in psychological group formation, and points to the relationship between group memberships and action. However it fails to locate the the psychological process of group formation and the group-action relationship within the context of the concrete social and material world, or to provide theoretical tools for investigating the way in which the concrete social world is implicated in the process of identity construction. It is suggested that the trialogue model provides a useful theoretical tool for this endeavour.

Here it must be emphasised that the most that will be claimed in this thesis is that Chapter 6's account of the interview data provides suggestive evidence for the power of the trialogue model. The author makes no attempt to offer Chapter 6 as 'proof' of model's efficacy in accounting for the structuring of social identity. As will be emphasised below, the trialogue model itself was derived from the data (where the data was filtered through the lens of selected aspects of social identity theory, with the goal of extending the theory in particular ways). It would obviously be inappropriate to attempt to 'prove' the efficacy of a model in the light of the very data from which the model was derived.

Furthermore the data analysis presented in this chapter only provides evidence for selected aspects of the trialogue model. A more detailed discussion of the precise extent to which the data analysis does and does not support specific details of the model will be given below in Section 6.22.1.

6.22.1 The challenge-option-group trialogue

This section focuses on the extent to which Chapter 6 supports the trialogue model of social identity. In an attempt to take specific account of the individual-society interaction in the process of identity formation, this thesis has developed a conceptualisation of identity as an adaptative resource used by individuals in the process of dealing with the demands of the social and material world. On the basis of this conceptualisation Chapter 3 has put forward a model of the structuring of identity in terms of a trialogue of adaptative challenges, group memberships and behavioural options. In line with the project's methodological goal of analysing the interview data in a way that is sensitive to the social context of experience and behaviour (see Chapter 1), this trialogue model was used as the basis for the coding frame through which the data was analysed (see Chapter 5).

Although the term 'trialogue' is preferred in other parts of this thesis because it emphasises the simultaneous interaction between all three of its components, the remainder of this sub-section makes an analytical distinction between three pairings within the trialogue:
i. the group-option connection,
ii. the challenge-option connection, and
iii. the challenge-group connection.
These distinctions are made with the goal of specifying which aspects of the model are supported by the data analysis.

As has been said, at a general level Chapter 6 has provided an extensive empirical illustration of the way in which a model of this nature is useful in making sense of individuals' open-ended accounts of their identity. The data analysis is not intended as a fine-grained analysis illustrating all three pairings within the trialogue however. This is because the trialogue model was developed only after the data had been collected. As outlined in Chapters 3 and 5, the model was the product of a detailed examination of the data in the light of insights drawn from social identity theory and challenges posed by certain weaknesses in the theory (outlined in chapter 2). It was not used in the design or planning of the interviews.

In order to conduct such a fine-grained analysis it would be necessary to plan the interviews with the express purpose of investigating the three pairings within the model. This was not the express intention of the study, which was intended to be exploratory and open-ended in nature.

The following paragraphs are intended as a more detailed analysis of what the data do and do not show in the light of a breakdown of the trialogue model into three components.

i) The challenge-option connection

It is suggested that the data analysis provides strong illustrative evidence for the challenge-option connection. It supports the claim that the behavioural options emerging from an analysis of individuals' identity talk can be clustered around particular adaptative challenges presented to the individual by the social and material world. In other words the behavioural options emerging from an analysis of identity talk are associated with particular life demands facing individuals.

ii) The group-option connection

The data analysis suggests that individuals' identity talk (accounts of their group memberships) can usefully be analysed in terms of behavioural options i.e. that there is a strong relationship between identity and action.

As presented in Part B of each section of Chapter 6, the analysis gives a generalised indication of the total number of behavioural option responses on a particular challenge associated with each group membership. This chapter does not provide a fine-grained analysis of the relationship between particular behavioural options and particular group memberships.

The decision not to include a fine-grained analysis of this nature was made despite the fact that links between behavioural options and group memberships were recorded on the original data coding sheets (see coding sheet in Appendix A.3). The decision not to include such a detailed breakdown was based on the fact that a decision had been made to use the category of ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE as the primary unit of analysis in the data (for reasons outlined in Section 5.3), and to cluster options and group memberships within individual adaptative challenges. Having divided up the data in this way, a breakdown of group-option relationships within a particular challenge yielded figures that were too small to merit attention. The smallness of these figures can be imagined if one bears in mind that the average number of male or female responses for a particular adaptative challenge was 180. These 180 responses were further divided into an average of 10 behavioural options, each one of which could then be associated with up to 12 group memberships.

As has already been suggested in Section 5.3, a more specific study of the relationship between group memberships and behavioural options (and the direction of choices made on behavioural options) would form the basis of an interesting future study. Such a study would have to narrow its focus to gather more detailed information on a more limited range of adaptative challenges or group memberships. It would have to place greater emphasis on 'depth' in a few limited areas of youth identity rather than the present study's 'breadth' of focus on a very broad range of adaptative challenges and group memberships.

iii) The challenge-group connection:

The analysis has also suggested that particular groups tend to be more or less influential for particular challenges. Both quantative and qualitative evidence is presented in this regard. Part B of each section of Chapter 6 contains a quantitative account of the proportions of responses associated with particular group memberships on each adaptative challenge. Each section has a penultimate heading of 'group memberships' which contains a more qualitative account of those group memberships most frequently associated with the challenge in question.

In summary, with regard to the trialogue model of the structuring of identity, Chapter 6 has provided suggestive evidence for the challenge-option connection, and the challenge-group connection. Given the particular focus of the data analysis, the project did not develop the evidence for the group-option connection. It is suggested that an investigation of this connection would form the basis of a future study.

6.22.2 The gendered nature of social identity formation

Chapter 6 also begins to take the thesis forward in terms of the locating the process of identity formation within a patriarchal social order. In terms of the project's interest in gender identity this chapter has provided evidence for the importance of taking power relations into account in understanding social identity, through its evidence for the gendered nature of social identity. The data provides a detailed account of gendered differences in social identity formation in three respects: (a) in the options associated with each adaptative challenge, (b) in the group memberships associated with each challenge, and (c) in the proportion of attention devoted to each challenge by men and women in giving an account of their identities. This project's account of the gendered nature of identity formation will be extended in Chapter 8.

6.23 Concluding comments

Chapter 6 has illustrated this thesis's model of the structuring of social identity in terms of a trialogue among adaptative challenges, group memberships and behavioural options.

As has already been said, this model was derived from a detailed examination of the data in the light of six insights drawn from social identity theory (see Section 2.5), with the goal of beginning to address what were identified as four key shortcomings of social identity theory in the Tajfel/Turner traditions.

What of the process of social identity formation? Detailed examination of the data in the light of the project's trialogue model of identity structuring suggests an extension of social identity's account of the process of identity formation to take account of:
(a) the process whereby individuals select from the range of available group memberships and behavioural options from one situation to another, and
(b) the role played by identity in perpetuating or challenging unequal power relations.

Drawing somewhat selectively (given space constraints) on the substantive account of the social identity of youth provided in this chapter, Chapter 7 will provide an account of the processes involved in the selection of particular group memberships and behavioural options from one social situation to the next, based on a case study of FAMILY membership. Chapter 8 will focus on power relations of gender, giving an account of the gendered nature of social identity formation, and pointing to the role played by identity in challenging or sustaining a particular set of unequal power relations.

7 THE DEBATING PROCESS OF SOCIAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

7.1 Introductory comments

How do youth construct their social identity under social conditions of rapid social change, political uncertainty and economic deprivation? The previous chapter has given an account of the adaptative challenges facing township youth in the construction of identity and the group memberships involved in this process. This account takes place against the background of the project's conceptualisation of the structuring of social identity in terms of a trialogue between challenges, options and groups. As Section 6.23 has already indicated, detailed attention to the data in the light of the trialogue model of identity suggests an account of the process whereby township youth engage with the social and material world in the process of identity construction.

This process will be referred to as 'the Debating Process of Social Identity Construction', and this chapter will give an account of this process in terms of the three points outlined below. These points give an account of the way in which youth select particular behavioural options (associated with the range of available group memberships) from one social situation to another. They also give an account of the socially and historically specific criteria used by youth in making these selections.

In the concluding section of this chapter it will be suggested that taken together, these three points serve as a 'real life' extension of mainstream SCT's concerns with the salience of social identity, and with the motivational processes guiding individuals in social identity formation. It will also be suggested that this chapter's account of the Debating Process of Identity Construction takes the thesis forward in terms of two of the challenges to social identity theorists. The first of these is the challenge of theorising the interaction of individual and society in the process of identity formation. The second is the challenge of developing a dynamic account of social identity.

Point 1: In the process of social identity construction the individual actively engages in a dialectical process of debate and negotiation, which involves continually weighing up the existing behavioural options provided by available group memberships in the light of the adaptative challenges posed by the social and material world.

The term 'dialectical' is used here in the sense suggested by Leonard (1984) to refer to a relationship of dynamic interaction between two phenomena. In this case it refers to the dynamic interaction between:

i) the individual's perception of existing group memberships and their associated behavioural options, and

ii) the challenges or demands that society places on the individual.

This interaction is characterised by elements of contradiction. Here the notion of contradiction is used not in its logical sense, but rather to suggest that there is seldom a perfect fit between interacting phenomena. This 'lack of fit' may provide the impetus for the transformation or change of one or both of the interacting elements in the dialectical relationship.

Point 2: In this process of negotiation, individuals select those recipes for living and group memberships that have the highest perceived adaptative success. Perceived adaptative success is the motivational process underlying the choice of behavioural options and group memberships. It is in the light of their perceived adaptative success that existing recipes for living are adopted, refashioned or rejected.

Point 3: Criteria for what individuals regard as perceived adaptative success will vary from one social grouping to another. *In weighing up what they* regard as perceived adaptative success, working class, black township youth are guided by their degree of commitment to, and their interpretation of, the following three socially negotiated criteria for adaptative success:

i) respectability

ii) self-improvement

iii) personal/community empowerment

Having outlined the three points, some introductory comments are made, before proceeding to provide concrete illustrations of these points from the interview data. Firstly some background is provided to the use of the terms 'debate' and 'negotiation' in the outline of Point 1. Writing about ideology, Billig et al. (1988) suggest that individuals should not be regarded as "the blinded bearers" of a received "ideological tradition" (p. 2), but that ideology involves argument and debate.[38] In fact the very process of human thinking is in its essence argumentative. (Billig, 1990).

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38 This point echoes Leonard's rejection of the view of the 'over-socialised individual', who simply reproduces the social order, and his insistence that individuals accept the ideologies associated with their particular social order in varying degrees of submission or resistance.

> "Thinking is frequently a form of dialogue within the individual". (Billlig et al., 1988, p. 6)
>
> "The thinker is ... a debater, engaged in argument either silently with the self, or more noisily with others." (Billig, 1991, p. 31)

According to Billig, the debates and arguments characterising human thought are generally not conclusively resolved one way or another. As human beings we continually waver from one position on a debate to another. Human thinking/arguing is inherently inconclusive, with thinkers continually carrying around with them a range of argumentative 'loose ends'.

Similarly this thesis would argue that in the process of social identity formation individuals engage in the process of argumentation, or of on-going debate. These debates would involve assessment of the relative merits of the 'recipes for living' associated with the group memberships available to the individual. The merits of these recipes are debated in the light of the ever-changing nature of the particular adaptative challenges that a changing society presents human beings. Individuals are continually weighing up the relative merits of these recipes against their perceptions of their potential adaptative success in the face of social demands. Where necessary, individuals might simply accept or reject these recipes, or reshape them to improve their likelihood of adaptative success.

Here it must be emphasised that these processes of 'selection', 'debate' and 'weighing up' are not suggested to be self-conscious 'choices', or processes taking place at the level of the subject's conscious awareness. When Billig characterises human thought as argumentative he is not suggesting that thinking subjects engage in a process of conscious argumentation. Rather he seeks to point to those underlying mechanisms that structure human thinking, ideology and rhetoric. Similarly the processes outlined in this chapter should be dissociated from any voluntaristic connotations.

Some of the debates underlying social identity formation will be dealt with during the course of this chapter. These debates are seldom resolved by individuals, who constantly fluctuate between positions. Thus for example people might vary in their commitment to particular FAMILY recipes for living from one situation to another. Or they might vary in their commitment to the various criteria for adaptative success (respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment) from one situation to the next.

However, whether or not youth accept or reject these criteria for success from one situation to another, they nevertheless will still serve as situation-specific 'fluctuating guidelines', pointers used by youth in mapping out the possibilities and constraints on action in the social world.

Point 2 refers to the fact that "individuals select those recipes for living that have the highest perceived adaptative success". Wetherell (pers. comm.) has suggested that it would be more useful to speak of "communities and groups negotiating perceptions of reasonable and appropriate behaviour". In other words, she suggests that it may be more useful to speak of this process of selection in community or group terms, rather than in individual terms. Here a point of clarification is necessary. This thesis would argue that those criteria that count for what is regarded as "perceived adaptative success", namely respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment (see Point 3), are certainly social constructs negotiated by the community to which the youth belong. However it is suggested that individuals' interpretations of these constructs will vary from one situation to another, according to a range of idiosyncratic factors such as personal history, personal preferences, tastes and motivations, particular situational contingencies and so on. Thus while the process of selection of behavioural options from one situation to another will take place within socially-determined parameters (respectability, self-improvement and so on), different individuals will display varying degrees of commitment to these parameters from one situation to the next according to a range of idiosyncratic factors. Thus individual differences in (a) the interpretation of these parameters, and (b) the degree of commitment to them, will be important factors in determining the outcome of the selection process from one individual to the next.

The reader is reminded of the explanation given in Section 1.3 for the use of the word 'adaptative' rather than 'adaptive'. In this section (see p. 6) the newly coined term was preferred to avoid the deterministic implications of the term 'adaptive' which could be interpreted as suggesting an individual who reacts passively to the demands of the social world. The new term is coined specifically to highlight the dynamic and dialectical interaction between the active individual and social context in the process of social identity construction.

7.2 The FAMILY as case study

In illustrating the Debating Process of Identity Construction, outlined in terms of Points 1, 2 and 3 above, this chapter will take the group membership of the FAMILY as its starting point. In giving an account of their social identity, the group that featured most frequently in both male and female accounts was the family (see Figure 6.7). Besides being the most frequently mentioned group, it was also the most controversial group membership in the sense that it was with the recipes for living associated with the family that subjects appeared to conduct the most heated debate.

At one level, the issue of becoming independent of the family is consistent with the developmental stage of any group of young people at late adolescence and early adulthood, in the period immediately prior to the developmental challenges of finding their own jobs, and setting up their own families. It will be suggested however that there is an additional reason for the centrality of debates with the family in the accounts of the informants. More than any other group the family bears the brunt of rapid social change. It is this grouping that binds together members of the older and younger generation in intimate on-going contact and close proximity. The family becomes a microcosm of the conflict between the 'old order' or 'tradition', often represented by the older generation's recipes for living, and the 'new social order' which may place a different set of demands on members of the younger generation.

Here it must be emphasised that the term 'tradition' is used with qualifications. Social analysts in South Africa are vociferous in pointing to the problematic nature of this concept. For example, Spiegel and Boonzaier (1988) warn that the notion of tradition is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the past. So-called 'traditional social relations' may often be a reinterpretation of the past by powerful social groupings in the interest of justifying their hold on social power. This point is particularly relevant to changing township social relations, where the notion of tradition is often drawn on by members of the older generation to justify their claims to authority over the younger generation. The notion of tradition is also often drawn on by men to justify their claims to power over women.

South African social scientists are also critical of those who would assume a static 'before and after' notion of history in discussions of social change. Such a notion would imply that there was ever such a thing as a coherent and identifiable 'traditional social structure' or 'old order' in the past, that had been replaced by a 'modern social structure' or 'new order', in such a way that the two could be regarded as analytically

separate entities (Murray, 1981). While terms such as 'tradition', or distinctions such as the 'old order' and the 'new order', might be unsatisfactory for historians and anthropologists, they are necessary tools for the social psychologist whose concern is the subjective reality of ordinary people. An important concern of the social psychologist is the way in which ordinary people interpret, understand and deal with the demands of the everyday world. Against this background one cannot ignore the fact that while these terms may be analytically unsatisfactory for certain academics and political analysts, they are part and parcel of the discourse of ordinary people, who DO tend to operate with static and ahistorical notions of the past compared to the present, the old order compared to the new, and traditional ways of life compared to modern lifestyles. Since such notions are part and parcel of the conceptual armoury of the informants in this study they cannot be dispensed with. However in analysing these accounts, the researcher will be careful to focus both on the continuities and discontinuities between the experience of the youth and their parents.

In illustrating the Debating Process of Social Identity Construction outlined above, this chapter will focus on the family in the light of the following questions:

i) How have conditions of rapid social change impacted on the family's influence on youth?
ii) In what way do other social groupings offer recipes for living that are considered more adaptative than those of the family?
iii) How do youth select between the recipes for living offered by the family and competing social groups?

It will be suggested that social change has presented youth with day-to-day situations in which certain of the recipes for living developed by their parents in a different social and historical context are no longer appropriate coping mechanisms. As a result, youth are having (at short historical notice) to develop new norms and attitudes, which might sometimes conflict with those that their parents would have used. As has already been stated, attempts will be made to emphasise not only the discontinuities between the life circumstances faced by youth, and those their parents grew up in, but also the continuities between the new coping skills that youth develop, and the coping skills that were appropriate for their parents.

Unless it is specifically stated otherwise, references to behavioural options associated with the FAMILY will refer to parents' recipes for living. This follows the lead of the youth in the study who generally referred to the influence of parents when talking about

the FAMILY. As will be discussed further below, it was in the area of self-improvement that the family's recipes for living tended to be the least controversial. In many cases these were simply adopted by youth. However, often the family's recipes proved to be insufficiently well-developed in the areas of education and career choice, and sometimes required expanding from a range of other sources. In relation to the adaptative criterion of respectability, the family's recipes for living were often subject to heated debate, and challenged in a range of covert and overt ways, resulting in a refashioning or revision of many of the family's recipes in the light of changing social demands. It was in relation to the adaptative criterion of personal/community empowerment that the family's recipes were considered the least adequate by youth for dealing with their day-to-day life challenges, and often rejected. In this regard interviews depicted youth in the process of constructing new group memberships (the COMRADES) and reinterpreting old group memberships (e.g. the YOUNGER GENERATION, URBAN, BLACK) in their goal of achieving personal/community empowerment.

It is suggested that an understanding of the processes whereby youth adopt, reinterpret or construct group memberships in the light of changing social demands contributes to the project's goal of developing a 'dynamic' notion of social identity. As was outlined in Section 2.4, such a notion would involve attention to the way in which the boundaries of group memberships change in the face of changing social relations. This point will be taken up in the concluding section of this chapter, and again in Chapter 9.

Following on from these introductory remarks, the goal in the remainder of this chapter will be to provided concrete illustrations of the Debating Process of Social Identity Construction outlined above. In section 7.3 factors weighed up by informants in debating the FAMILY's adequacy as a social guide are outlined. This section focuses on youth's accounts of this group membership's adaptative strengths and weaknesses in the face of the challenges presented to them by the changing social world. In Section 7.4 youth's perceptions of the relative adaptative success of those behavioural options offered by the FAMILY and competing social guides are examined. In making choices between the options offered by various group memberships, youth are guided by varying degrees of commitment to the motivational criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment. Each of these three criteria is discussed in turn, in the light of concrete illustrations of competing behavioural options available for pursuing these motivational goals.

7.3 The family's adequacy as a social guide

Points 1, 2 and 3 (Section 7.1) suggest that in the process of social identity formation, youth engage in debates about the relative adaptative potential of options associated with available group memberships. Their assessment of the adequacy of FAMILY recipes for living centred around their judgments of their parents' qualifications as social guides. This section focuses on those factors they cited in the process of weighing up whether or not to adopt their parents' behavioural guidelines. In Section 7.3.1 the focus is on factors in favour of parents, including youths' respect for their age, wisdom, experience; a commitment to family unity in a chaotic social world; and their sense of obligation to their parents for the sacrifices they had made for them. In Section 7.3.2 the focus is on factors against parents, including their lack of education, their rural roots, and their lack of political conscientisation.

7.3.1 Factors in favour of parents' adequacy as social guides

While they did not always regard their parents as 'street-wise' in the ways of modern life, youth often spoke with admiration and even awe of their parents' demonstrations of strength and resilience in the face of obstacles in the way of the day-to-day survival of working class black people. In response to the question: "Can you name an adult that you know personally who serves as a model for how you would like to be when you grow up?", several of the respondents, particularly the young men, said they could not name one adult. However in response to the question: "Who is your hero? Someone that you admire very strongly?", several informants named their mothers, expressing deep admiration for the way in which they had succeeded in holding their families together under conditions of poverty and instability.

> "My mother is my hero ... all that she has struggled for has been only for us (her children) ... she has had a difficult time and even now she is not free because there are so many difficulties." (M8)

The great majority of interviews touched on the on-going sacrifices that parents had made for their children, and strong ties of loyalty amongst family members.

> "I can simply sum up my relationship with my mother by saying that all that I am is through her." (M13)

Many of the young people expressed deep appreciation to their parents for the suffering they had undergone for the sake of their families. This appreciation often resulted in a sense of obligation to obey family norms as a token of appreciation for this support.

> "I would not like to do anything that would upset my family, they have sacrificed a lot for me. I have to be careful of everything I do." (F19)

It was the key role played by families in this respect that made family membership a highly valued group membership of respondents (see Table 4.2), if not necessarily always the most influential group membership. This sense of appreciation was linked to a deep sense of obligation to parents expressed by virtually every subject, and a commitment to support them in their old age.

> "The first duty I have is that I was born from my parents, and they brought me up, and now they are old I must make a point of supporting them, and fulfilling their needs." (M10)

Many of the informants also expressed respect for the age, wisdom and experience of their parents.

> "There are many ways in which the older generation can help us because they are old, and they can show us what is right and what is wrong ... You have to ask the road from those who are older, because they have walked that road." (M5)

In a disrupted social world, family ties were regarded as an important source of stability and support for informants, and highly valued as a result.

7.3.2 Factors against parents' adequacy as social guides

> "Parents appear as fools to their children, people who just say useless things, whose minds have simply ceased to think wisely. This results in growing disobedience, because children do not see any reason to respect them." (M15)

Many of the young people in the study, not unlike their age counterparts in any country, or any race or class context, simply felt their parents were 'old-fashioned', boring, and out-of-touch. The general issue of the 'generation gap' is hardly specific to this particular group of young people. This section looks at certain factors that appeared to be more strongly related to specific features of working class township life than the probably almost universal rejection of parents by youth as boring and old-fashioned.

Despite evidence for ties of love and loyalty to their parents, several township youth in the study, particularly men, questioned their qualifications to guide them. (see Section

6.16). Whether or not informants consciously expressed doubts about their parents, parents inevitably fell into a range of socially devalued group memberships e.g. the UNEDUCATED, UNSKILLED WORKERS, PEOPLE WITH RURAL ROOTS. Thus even though certain informants of both genders may not have devalued their parents directly, they often devalued the group memberships that their parents unwittingly fell into, group memberships which many youth hoped that they themselves would avoid when they were adults.

This section looks at five factors which weighed against youths' perceptions of their parents' qualifications to guide them: their educational status, their employment status, their rural origins and their lack of political conscientisation. The fifth factor, applicable only to young men, concerned their perception of their status of mothers in particular as social guides.

i) Parents' educational status

The majority of working class township youth have more education than their parents (Nzimande and Thusi, 1991; see Table 4.1 for educational levels of youth and their parents in the current sample). Parents fell into the poorly valued out-group of the UNEDUCATED. Interview data repeatedly bore witness to fact that educated people had more social status in the township community than uneducated people.

> "If you are not educated the community regards you as uncivilised." (M2)
>
> "There is nothing worthwhile that you can do in life if you are not educated." (F20)
>
> "If you are not educated you are nothing." (M3)
>
> "If an educated person has some kind of social function and invites uneducated people amongst the guests, they tend to make the non-educated people feel separate and apart. The one crowd (the uneducated) will spend their evening in the tent outside, whereas the others (the educated) will spend their evening under a comfortable roof. The educated people will be served first, and will get everything in good time, whereas those who are outside will be attended to later." (M6)

F13's comments on the advantages of education pointed to the youth's sense of the vulnerability of their parents in the face of their relative lack of education.

> "It is good to be educated. It makes it easy to get work. Also education helps you with other things. You are able to read the road signs, and if you see a bus you can read where the bus is going to. Maybe if you are receiving a letter from a loved one, you can read it, and you don't have to ask someone to read it to you - and take the risk that that person will just say whatever they want to say as they read it." (F13)

M6 linked the older generations' vulnerability to white domination to their lack of education. His generation, with their improved educational levels would be less vulnerable to white oppression.

> "Old people were prepared to work hard and be oppressed because they were thinking about their children all the time ... if they did not accept their situation they would be fired from the job, and their children would suffer without getting food ... when the present generation of young people are older they will not depend on the whites because most of the jobs that old people did in the past were labourers' jobs. They (the youth) will organise themselves to be educated ... education is the only key to our liberation." (M6)

ii) Parents' employment status

The majority of respondents' living parents who were employed were labourers or domestic workers (see Table 4.1). Such work is not highly regarded in the community, or by the youth in particular. F10 for example commented on the lack of control domestic workers had over their working conditions, as well as their poor wages:

> "My mother is a domestic worker. (Would you like to be a domestic worker?) No. (?) I would like to do something for myself. (?) Have a job where I can go off at the stipulated time, and earn enough money to support my family." (F10)

The work available to uneducated people was depicted as strenuous and exhausting, working long hours for little pay, and spending endless hours travelling to and from the workplace.

> "If you look at factory workers you will find that they are tired. They are also slight and thin." (F15)

Thus parents, who were often labourers and domestic workers, belonged to what youth regarded the poorly valued out-group of UNSKILLED WORKERS.

iii) Parents' rural roots

Most parents of youth in the 18-23 year age group at the time of the interviews (late 1989) were born in rural areas, and came to the towns in their late teens to find work (Edwards, 1989). Nearly all the respondents were township born, as opposed to their parents who were rural born.

Many respondents made a sharp distinction between rural and urban people, classing themselves in the latter camp. They distinguished between the skills required to cope with rural life on the one hand and township life on the other. The older generation were often lumped together with rural black people who were described as 'in the dark' or 'blind' or 'ignorant'. As M6 has been quoted as saying (Section 6.16)

> "On the farms they think they have got nothing to fight for. They have their own cow, their own space, their own chief. And they think that they have got everything they could dream of. Such a person knows nothing about their rights, about the needs of the black people. Such a person is content to be an oppressed labourer." (M6)

There were a number of references to the lack of sophistication of rural peoples' thinking. M10's comment about his rural girlfriend reflected respondents' attitudes to rural people.

> "It is not easy to discuss politics or serious issues with T, because she is a 'farm Julia' - this is the name we give to a woman from the rural area ... people who come from the farm are blind." (M10)

iv) Parents' lack of political consciousness

Certain young people drew a sharp contrast between what they regarded as their parents' passive acceptance of racial discrimination and economic disadvantage on the one hand, and their own active resistance to these phenomena on the other.

> "Our parents say that the youth of today have changed. When they were young there were no strikes, these days there are many. At work black people are not given enough money, yet they work hard. In the old days blacks did not complain about this. In these days they do ... there is nothing the old people can teach the youth now ... the youth must learn from the other kids who know better ... Parents feel bad about this. I know this because I have seen my mother crying." (F13)

Some young people direct some of the anger and frustration arising from their social conditions at their parents. They blame them for tolerating economic and racial discrimination, rather than fighting for a better world for their children. They contrast

their own assertive and radical critique of society with the fearful and timid acceptance of the status quo of many older working class parents.

> "The older generation have been prepared to accept everything the hard way, struggle for everything they have got. The younger generation do not wait for hard times, they are always active." (M6)

Interviews showed evidence of a strong sense on the part of youth, particularly young men, that they wanted to take control of their future in a way their parents had not.

The splits in some families (e.g. M3 and M4) between traditionalist Inkatha parents and more radical MDM/ANC anti-Inkatha youth on the other were the source of much conflict (see Section 7.4)

v) Young men and mothers

A central feature of changing township family life is the growing number of female-headed families (Preston-Whyte and Zondi, 1989). Only 19 of the 40 people interviewed in this study lived in the same household as their fathers. Certain young men in the sample commented that it was difficult for mothers to guide or discipline teenage sons in families where no fathers were present. Some informants suggested that the influence of the family over teenage sons is considerably diminished in female-headed families. Despite the reality that mothers are having to play an increasingly central role in family leadership, they are still regarded as second class citizens in a community where patriarchal ideals dominate (Campbell, 1989). As a result, mothers are often not accorded the respect and authority that would be accorded to fathers. For example mothers are often not accorded the authority necessary to discipline teenage sons, who, without the stern hand of a traditionally feared father figure to keep them in check, often 'run wild' as a result.

> "Mother failed to discipline us teenage boys on her own. Boys need a father to guide them. If father had lived with us there would have been a difference. There were many times when we took no notice of mother, unlike the notice we would have taken of a father." (M7)

The situation is somewhat different for teenage girls. In fatherless families teenage girls may often disciplined by older brothers.

7.3.3 Concluding comments to Section 7.3

Points 1, 2 and 3 (Section 7.1) suggest that in the process of social identity formation, youth weigh up the adaptative potential of the recipes for living associated with various group memberships. This section has focussed on factors in favour of parents (Section 7.3.1) and against parents (Section 7.3.2) in youths' debates about the FAMILY's adequacy as a social guide.

Informants felt strong ties of love, loyalty and appreciation for their parents, and a deep sense of obligation to support them in their old age. In some cases the strength of these ties of appreciation influenced youth into thinking that a person ought to obey those parents who had made so many sacrifices on her/his behalf. There was evidence however that many young people perceived group memberships such as EDUCATED, URBAN, PROFESSIONAL PERSON and the politically assertive and active COMRADES group membership as offering them the greatest chances of life success. Parents often fell into the less valued out-groups of UNEDUCATED, RURAL, UNSKILLED WORKERS and POLITICALLY TIMID, groupings which were considered to offer little in the way of useful life skills for a young upwardly mobile person in pursuit of a bright future.

In many cases youth appear to construct their social identity in direct opposition to the way in which they perceive their parents. They intended to achieve the success in their lives that their parents had not.

> "Mother just wanted to marry. I want an education." (F3)

> "(Why would you say that young people go to school?) We go to school because most of our parents have not been to school. From their experience they think it is better if their children go to school, to enable their children to face the future." (M4)

Having rejected many of the adaptative skills their parents have to offer, what alternative raw materials exist for social identity construction? The next section looks at the extent to which youth are guided by the FAMILY as opposed to other social groupings in their day-to-day lives, focussing on the issues that youth bring to bear on debates regarding the relative merits and demerits of various groups' options. It will be suggested that in some respects youth did consider other group memberships as more useful than the FAMILY in relation to many of the demands of modern life. In other respects however the did still often value their parents' insights into certain matters.

> "There are lots of laws our family can teach us ... things like the importance of respecting parents, knowing how to greet old people in the street, how women

> should behave, how one ought to behave in the street ... But when it comes to politics, this is an area where the young should teach the older generation ... the old people don't see the world of today, but the younger people, they have got ideas, and these ideas will enable them to change things in the world of today." (M10)

Thus, while parents were not always regarded as competent social guides, there was still much evidence for youths' commitment to maintaining some degree of continuity with their parents' values and lifestyles in formulating their social identities.

> "If we can just combine the two together - the respect (of the older generation) and the civilisation (of the modern days) then I am sure that we will have a better generation in our future." (M17)

7.4 Perceived adaptative success of the family and competing groups

This section seeks to illustrate Points 1, 2 and 3 (as outlined in Section 7.1) through looking at the way in which youth weigh up the adaptative success of the recipes for living offered by the FAMILY and those of competing social guides (such as FRIENDS and the CHURCH) against the background of changing social demands. The outcome of this debate results in them either adopting, rejecting or refashioning FAMILY recipes for living.

Point 1 suggests that the process of social identity construction takes the form of internal debates in which subjects argue about the relative merits of the behavioural options offered by various group memberships, in the light of environmental demands. Point 2 suggests that in the process of deciding which recipes for living are the most appropriate responses to various adaptative challenges, subjects choose those recipes that have the highest perceived adaptative success. Point 3 suggests that township youths' decisions regarding perceived adaptative success are related to their level of commitment to the three motivational criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment. As will be seen, informants' interpretation of these motivational criteria were also subject to debate. A person's commitment to a motivational criterion might differ from one situation to another; e.g. a young woman's commitment to the criterion of self-improvement might vary from one situation (behaving very diligently at school) to another (risking pregnancy through the love of her boyfriend, despite the fact that pregnancy might hinder or terminate her school progress).

These three motivational criteria are derived from the researcher's interpretation of the interviews. While they were sometimes explicitly articulated by informants, they were at other times implicit in the interviews. In other words these criteria have the status of constructs that emerged after a lengthy period of close and detailed scrutiny of the data. They appear to have explanatory power in the researcher's quest to explicate the processes guiding the formulation of youth social identity.

In the remainder of Section 7.4 an account of each of the three motivational criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment will be provided. Illustrations will be given of some of the factors weighed up by youth debating the relative adaptative success of options associated with the FAMILY and other groups in pursuance of these motivational criteria.

7.4.1 Criterion 1: Respectability

The motivational construct of respectability was implicit in certain ways in all 20 of the challenges, but it featured particularly centrally in all the challenges within the CODE OF CONDUCT challenge cluster, and the four NETWORKING responses of GUIDANCE, CHOOSING FRIENDS, HAVING FUN and CHOOSING LOVERS.

In the interviews, the family's recipes for living were virtually without exception associated with respectability, where the concept of respectability incorporated the following six factors, which are discussed in turn below:

a) respect in interpersonal relations (an issue relevant to both men and women),
b) avoidance of alcohol (men and women),
c) non-promiscuous sexual behaviour (relevant to women only),
d) restricted freedom of movement and home-centredness (women),
e) non-criminal behaviour (men), and
f) non-violent behaviour (men).

While the FAMILY was cited in relation to violence in the private sphere, it was seldom cited in relation to violence in the public sphere, or in relation to criminal behaviour. This is consistent with the general trend in the interviews where FAMILY membership was cited more frequently in relation to behavioural options in the private sphere (individual conduct and ambitions and interpersonal relationships) than in the public sphere of life (community and political affairs). Because of the relative

infrequency of the association of FAMILY membership with factors e) and f), they are discussed in less detail that the other factors.

7.4.1.1 Respect

Respect is the cornerstone of traditional African social relationships, both in the family and in the wider community (Vilakazi, 1976). In the interviews, the phenomenon of respect was frequently cited to refer to a range of rights and obligations, usually with reference to social relations based on age and gender hierarchies. The notion of 'respect' was cited as a guideline for behaviour between adults and youth, between men and women, between siblings of different ages within a family and so on. This section will focus on relationships of respect between different generations (youth and their parents as well as members of their parents' generation), suggesting that changing inter-generational relations present youth with the possibility of challenging the traditional notion of respect. (Discussion of the gendered aspect of youth identity will take place in Chapter 8.) The most direct references to inter-generational relations and age-related respect were in connection with the adaptative challenges of CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT and NETWORKING: GUIDANCE. Many more veiled and indirect references to these issues were however scattered about in all the challenges.

Implicit in the interview data was a notion of respect for older people *that prescribed* the acceptance of the following three guidelines by youth:

i) Reverence for older people: young people should treat older people with a certain degree of awe
ii) Obedience to older people: young people should obey older people at all times[39]; parents should be accorded this authority by virtue of their age
iii) Acceptance of older people as valuable social guides: parents have knowledge, expertise and wisdom about the world that forms a useful resource for guiding their children.

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39 This point may be clarified by distinguishing between three possible relationships between respect and obedience. Respect for X (a hypothetical person or persons) may mean one of the following:
1. to respect X means to listen to them, and to take their opinions seriously, while still reserving the right to disagree (democratic notion of respect);
2. to respect X means to listen to them and obey them provided that they present good reasons for behaviour (authoritative notion of respect);
3. to respect X means to listen to them and obey them, without the necessity of any good reasons being provided (authoritarian notion of respect).
The notion of respect that the FAMILY would expect from youth is the third one, the authoritarian notion, involving obedience for obedience sake.

This section will focus chiefly on the first two components of respect relating to reverence and obedience. Section 7.3 has already referred to assumption iii) in its account of some of the factors weighed up by youth in their assessment of their parents' wisdom and life experience. This section pointed out that parental life experience was not necessarily considered a valuable resource by youth, for reasons such as their parents' lack of education and political conscientisation.

However, despite these views, according to the 'traditional' notion of respect the older generation's right to reverence and obedience was unconditional, simply by virtue of their superior age, and not something that parents needed to earn or prove themselves worthy of or qualified for. It was their automatic due, and something that all young people should simply recognise without questioning.

As regards respectful inter-generational relations, at a superficial level, the traditional FAMILY value of respect did indeed appear to be the central guide of youth's behaviour. Orally, every informant repeatedly cited the importance of respect in interpersonal relations (especially inter-generational relationships). It was the clichè that dominated all the interviews. The notion of respect appeared to be such a fundamental aspect of informants' attitudes to adults that they often appeared surprised and at a loss when asked to give examples of respectful behaviour. Examples given in response to such a request by the interviewers often related to the importance of standing up for adults on buses, running errands for them, and helping them carry parcels. Such requests should be obeyed unconditionally and "without hesitation" (M8). Respect also involved being in awe of one's elders. For young men for example, an important way of showing respect for older men was to treat them with awe, which included staying out of their way and not initiating contact uninvited. At a more superficial level, the issue of showing respect to older people by treating them with certain degree of awe, reverence and good manners, was a fairly uncontroversial and routine issue. At this level the FAMILY's recipes for treating adults appeared to have been adopted by subjects. However, closer examination of the interview material revealed evidence of a range of subtle challenges to the FAMILY's notion of respect, with alterative possibilities being provided by a range of competing group memberships, especially COMRADES, URBAN, YOUNGER GENERATION, FRIENDS and LOVERS.

Under the influence of these memberships, there were signs of numerous challenges to what was referred to as the FAMILY's traditional behavioural guidelines about what constituted respectful behaviour. These challenges were of two kinds, covert and overt,

both of which are discussed below. These challenges indicated that rather than unquestioningly adopting the 'traditional' FAMILY notion of respect that their parents had taught them, youth were drawing selectively on this notion, sometimes redefining guidelines for behaving respectfully in a far more conditional way than the influence of the FAMILY would have suggested.

i) Covert challenges to the traditional notion of respect

Challenges to the FAMILY's notion of respect were not often overt, but evidenced in a range of subtle contradictions or inconsistencies in informants' accounts of their social identities. Illustrative examples of each of these inconsistencies are provided below. The first kind of inconsistency involved the selective use of the concept of respect, where individuals chose to be guided by 'respect' in some situations, but not in others. The second kind of inconsistency involved what will be called the 'rhetorical' use of the concept of respect, where subjects paid lip service to the notion in their interviews, but did not necessarily appear to put this concept into practice in their concrete behaviour. The third kind of inconsistency involved the use of the concept of respect as an impression management strategy, where informants made a great show of keeping up the appearance of respectful behaviour in front of their parents and adults, but in fact proceeded to behave exactly as they wished when their backs were turned.

With regard to the first kind of inconsistency, the strategy of the selective use of the concept of respect, there was evidence that young people often chose to apply the notion of respect for adults under certain select conditions, but not under others. M10 for example spoke elaborately and frequently of the importance that youth show adults respect and obey them at all times.

> "My family taught me to respect and obey old people. If they send me somewhere I will go with no hesitation. I have done this since I was a child. I respect all people in this way." (M10)

On the other hand he referred to an occasion when he had kicked an older woman, breaking her leg, because she had shouted at him for taking a short cut across her garden in a mildly inebriated state on his way home from a shabeen. In relation to his parents (who were elderly people who had retired to the rural area, and who did not pose any challenge to his independence), he was extremely committed to the notion of respect. However in a situation where an older woman had attempted to restrict his behaviour in what he thought was an unjustified way, he was quite content to abandon this behavioural guideline.

M18's account of his relationship with his girlfriend provides a second case study of the selective use of the notion of respect. M18 stressed the importance that he and all youth should respect older people, offering the example that he would never consider approaching his girlfriend directly in front of her parents, because this would constitute a sign of great disrespect for them. He cited COMRADES membership as an influence in this regard:

> "We in the comrades are trying to educate young men that it is important to send a young child to call your girlfriend from her home, rather than going there for yourself, because this is a sign of disrespect ... for her parents." (M18)

However at another stage of the interview he referred to encouraging his girlfriend to behave in a manner that could hardly have been described as respectful for her parents:

> "(Do you ever encourage your girlfriend to do things against her will?) Only forcing her to attend political meetings which she does not like, as well as forcing her to come to relatives' homes with me without informing her parents. I also sometimes force her to steal money from her home, because her father is a teacher, and has lots of money." (M18)

Turning to the second kind of inconsistency, the rhetorical use of the notion of respect, there was evidence of dysjunctions between informants' lip service to this notion in conversation, and their day-to-day behaviour. While many respondents spoke of the importance that a young person obey their parents at all times, and respect adults, interviews were replete with examples of incidents where they had not done so. Many young men referred to disobeying their parents' wishes that they should not drink or gamble or involve themselves in political violence for example. Many young women referred to disregarding family restrictions on sexual activity (see Section 6.6).

The third kind of inconsistency, the use of the notion of respect as an impression management strategy will be illustrated in the sections on the use of alcohol and sexual behaviour below. These sections will mention the way in which informants often behaved exactly as they pleased, in blatant disregard of their FAMILY's behavioural guidelines, but went to elaborate efforts to 'keep up appearances' and conceal the disapproved behaviour from their parents. In this way the notion of respect was redefined from 'obey your parents' to 'never let your parents know that you are disobeying them'.

ii) Overt challenges to the notion of respect

While youth served to subvert the notion of respect in a range of subtle ways, overt and articulated challenges to the notion were fewer and more often voiced by boys than

girls. Overt challenges to the notion of respect were those where youth openly contested the assumption that one ought to be obedient and helpful to adults simply because of their age. While informants remained committed to the notion of respect in the broad sense, they argued for a more conditional notion of obedience and reverence for adults.

Challenges to the notion of respect were often justified in relation to matters of principle. M9 said he would only obey those adult requests that he felt were reasonable.

> "If an adult tries to send me twice to one place on the same day I usually refuse." (M9)

M13 said that the current political conflict in the township made it necessary to be selective regarding those adults that one would obey. He said it would go against his political principles to treat an Inkatha member with respect.

> "(With regard to the relationship between youth and adults in the township) I think the present condition is causing confusion to everybody in South Africa. I would not regard it as wise to be sent to the shop by a member of the township councils who is a member of Inkatha or the Special Branch, even though he is an adult in relation to me. No matter if he is an adult, I will disobey him to prove to him that his political position is wrong." (M13)

M6 said that he would choose not to obey an adult's request to go on the errand of buying alcohol, because this went against his belief that the consumption of alcohol was a serious social problem that served to undermine his community. However he emphasised that as a respectful member of the younger generation one was obliged to explain one's reasons for refusing in a polite and courteous manner.

M16 commented that the older generation had failed to set the youth a good example in the disrespectful way that elders treated youth. As such they had forfeited their right to the respect of youth in return.

> "The older generation does not know how to treat the younger generation. You find that sometimes an older person talks anyhow to the younger generation, and I don't think that is the respect that the younger generation deserves." (M16)

Thus there was evidence that several young men were asserting their right to exercise their own judgement in deciding how to relate to adults, rather than simply obeying a set of what they regarded as old-fashioned 'traditional' family-related guidelines.

Referring now specifically to aspect iii) of respect as outlined above, the 'parents as useful social guides' aspect of respect, some young people appeared to have resolved their dilemma regarding their sense of deep love, commitment and loyalty to their parents on the one hand, and their assessment of them as inadequate social guides on the other, by a compromise option. This compromise involved regarding parents as useful social guides with regard to a limited range of issues. Parents' advice was considered useful in the area of good manners and the importance of education. However in certain areas of life, such as politics and community empowerment, their opinions and advice were not considered useful.

> "The parents teach the child about how to conduct himself in the community and how to respect others and to obey instructions from old people, but the comrades are teaching others about the struggle and about how to get freedom." (M17)

> "There are lots of laws our family can teach us - things like the respect of parents, knowing how to greet old people in the street. They also teach their children things like how to watch the cars ... to cross the roads and so forth ... What I would say is that when it comes to politics, this is an area where the young should teach the older generation." (M11)

One of the ways in which youth appeared overtly to have redefined the guidance aspect of respect was to demarcate areas where parents were qualified to guide them, and areas where they were not.

iii) Group memberships influencing informants' attitudes to respect

A number of group memberships provided alternative recipes for living to those of the FAMILY, involving the possibility of a more conditional approach towards obedience to adults, and a more egalitarian approach to inter-generational relations. The self-categorisation of URBAN offered youth the possibility of relating to adults in a more egalitarian way, in contrast to the what some informants characterised as rural youth's 'over-respect' for and excessive fear of adults, in the rural context in which their parents had grown up. The self-categorisation of YOUNGER GENERATION also provided behavioural options competing with those provided by the FAMILY, where members of the younger generation were sometimes characterised as outspoken and independent. As was mentioned in Section 6.16 however, informants' interpretation of the YOUNGER GENERATION category varied. Some youth still endowed this category with more traditional connotations of unconditional obedience, a point that will be taken up later.

Peer groupings, in the form of the group memberships of FRIENDS and LOVERS, sometimes served to give informants moral support and encouragement in forging more

conditional behavioural guidelines regarding respect (although this was not always the case). It was the COMRADES grouping that provided youth with the most compelling possibility of openly articulated challenges to the notion of respect. This group offered youth the possibility of acting in terms of their sense of of personal integrity and commitment to democracy, rather than blindly following what they regarded as outdated and undemocratic family conventions.

iv) Concluding comments on informants' commitment to respect

The picture that emerges from the interviews is one of youth debating the FAMILY's guidelines regarding inter-generational respect, and sometimes coming up with a more qualified commitment to the notion than the FAMILY's recipes for living would recommend. This section has looked at a number of covert and overt ways in which youth challenge the FAMILY's guidelines for respect. There were some indications of contradictions between the lip service paid to the notion of respect by informants and their concrete behavioural practices.

Why then does the concept of respect appear to serve as such a backbone in informants' accounts of their recipes for living? It is suggested that while the traditional FAMILY notion of respect no longer invariably functions as a valued blueprint for action, it still serves as a key conceptual reference point for youth. As such it serves as a rhetorical baseline that sustains youth in the on-going process of formulating adaptative recipes for living. While the process of integrating such new recipes into a coherent framework continued, their parents' notion of respect served to provide i) a reference point in relation to which new norms can be formulated and articulated (in this sense it provides important continuity with their own history) and ii) moral support for youth. In some ways the notion of respect appears to be an empty clichè, which informants 'trotted out' rather mechanically. Perhaps in a time of rapid social change, where old values (e.g. those associated with FAMILY membership) are not always considered adaptative, with no new clearly defined behaviours to put in their place, youth may articulate traditional ritualised responses for their own sake as they struggle to transform old values into user-friendly resources for the demands of their modern life.

In terms of Points 1, 2 and 3, this section has illustrated some of the factors weighed up by youth in the process of debating inter-generational behavioural guidelines offered by the FAMILY on the one hand, and a range of other groupings (e.g COMRADES, YOUNGER GENERATION) on the other. One important factor determining the

outcome of this debating process will be the individual's degree of commitment to the notion of respect and respectability in the situation being debated. An individual might be more committed to being respectful in one situation than in another. We now turn to look at a range of other factors implied by the notion of respectability.

7.4.1.2 Alcohol

The second aspect of respectability was the avoidance of alcohol. This criterion featured particularly in the adaptative challenges of: CODE OF CONDUCT: ALCOHOL, NETWORKING: CHOOSING FRIENDS and NETWORKING: CHOOSING LOVERS, as well as the range of FUTURE challenges. FAMILY recipes for living were invariably opposed to the practice of drinking by youth. In fact a number of informants referred to fathers or siblings who drank, but nearly always immediately commented on other family members' disapproval of this practice. Behavioural options associated with the group memberships of DECENT CITIZEN, CHURCH and EDUCATED reinforced those of the FAMILY. Men and women played lip service to this rule when speaking in general terms. Furthermore they elaborated on this rule in relation to a range of other challenges. They commented that they would avoid choosing friends or lovers who were drinkers, and that drinking inhibited school success and blighted one's chances of a bright future.

The responses of young men and young women to this aspect of respectability are now discussed in turn. When speaking in general terms, young men tended to roundly condemn the practice of drinking. When speaking in particular terms 12 young men said that they did in fact drink. Group memberships presenting them with this conflicting option included the three MISCELLANEOUS group memberships of UNEMPLOYED, DRINKERS and PHANTSULA'S. Members of the unemployed grouping said they drank in response to the challenge of filling time, or drowning their sorrows. In the face of their material circumstances (little chance of finding jobs, often shunned by young women, often labelled both by their families and the community as 'good for nothing' and 'lazy' and mistrusted by the community), the recipes for living offered by the FAMILY (don't drink, don't go to shabeens) were considered inappropriate given the social and material conditions facing the UNEMPLOYED, which provided them with few possibilities for either leisure or consolation, making drinking a particularly adaptative option.

Also competing with the family, members of the DRINKERS group explained their drinking on the grounds of their enjoyment of shabeen culture, and the lack of other entertainment facilities in the township. PHANTSULA'S drank on the grounds that this was part of the grouping's macho image. This rugged and macho image was considered a far more 'user-friendly' one for many young men than the more sedate, prissy and respectable recipes for living that the FAMILY offered them.

There was evidence for a degree of tension experienced by informants in making decisions about options on the CODE OF CONDUCT: ALCOHOL challenge. Youth tried to reach 'compromise' options that would reconcile the conflicting pressures of the pro-drinking and anti-drinking group memberships. These included the decision to drink moderately rather than excessively, to conduct one's drinking in the privacy of shabeens, and never in public (e.g. in the street), and never to drink in front of parents or other significant adults. Young men often referred to their practice of drinking rather shamefacedly.

Compared to boys who felt more free to talk about their misdemeanors (albeit often shamefacedly), young women went to far greater lengths to create a virtuous image. Their interviews were full of clichès, such as the following: "I don't like women who smoke, drink or hang around in shabeens." (F2) However in the case of two women, the very informants who paid lip service to such clichès, 'let slip' contradictory information.

F2 and F6 had told the interviewers very emphatically that they had never touched alcohol. F2 however referred to an occasion when her boyfriend had beaten her for drinking, and F6 referred to an occasion when her friend had become very angry with her for getting drunk at a New Year function and vomiting behind a door in a house. This dysjunction between real identity and ideal identity is probably partly due to the social desirability factor (see Section 4.7). However, it also indicates the pervasiveness of the 'rhetoric of respectability' in youth's accounts of themselves, a point that will be taken up below.

Circumstantial evidence suggests however that drinking is a less accessible option for young women than for young men. Several informants explicitly stated that it was considered more socially acceptable for a man to drink than a woman. Young women would have far fewer opportunities for drinking that their male counterparts, in terms of their restricted freedom of movement away from the family home and the watchful eye of family members, and the significantly higher association by women with the

group memberships of FAMILY, CHURCH, GENDER and LOVERS than their male counterparts. Each of these group memberships tended to promote an image of women as virtuous, home-centred, well-behaved, and definitely a non-drinker.

In conclusion, it appears that the FAMILY's options regarding drinking were considered more adaptative by girls than boys. There was little space for girls to engage in debates about whether or not to drink, since the FAMILY 's behavioural options for a virtuous and well-behaved young woman were reinforced by a wide range of other group memberships. In the case of boys a range of competing group memberships offered alternative behavioural options to the FAMILY recipes for living. These included the UNEMPLOYED, PHANTSULA'S and DRINKERS. Options available to boys permitted them to behave in ways that were not necessarily virtuous nor well-behaved, allowing them liberties denied to their female counterparts. The elaborate lengths young men went to to hide their drinking from their parents suggested however that they were not entirely comfortable with the decision to disregard the FAMILY's influence, hence their attempts to achieve some sort of compromise between the influence of the FAMILY and other groups.

7.4.1.3 Sexual conduct

Sexual conduct was an important criterion of respectability among young women. Three competing groups presented women with behavioural options for sexual conduct, with the groups standing in varying degrees of alliance and conflict with one another: the FAMILY, LOVERS and FRIENDS. Respondents referred to a range of what they referred to as 'traditional' practices around sexuality and sexual socialisation which were no longer influential in the lives of young people.

> "In the past, as the African nation, the girls never slept with a man before marriage arrangements had been made. These days a young unmarried woman can even have sex with a man, and all her siblings will be doing it, and eventually it might even happen that her mother might know that she is doing it. Eventually she will have children at home, before marriage - and she has never consulted anyone about it." (M6)

They commented that in 'traditional' society there was a range of practices to ensure that a young woman remained a virgin until marriage. A young woman's female peers had played an important role in this process. Nowadays, in contrast to this, there was pressure on young women from FRIENDS (these female peers) to have sexual relationships in their late teens. The FAMILY, both parents and brothers, encouraged young women to refrain from sexual activity 'until they were older'. This generally

meant until they had completed their education and were either married, or employed and in a position to support a child. It appeared however that in practice the FAMILY had little or no influence in this area.

The group membership of LOVERS presented women with a competing behavioural option. Lovers provided a young woman with the possibility of meeting the adaptative challenges of HAVING FUN, gaining EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, BROADENING HER HORIZONS, and if she was lucky MATERIAL SUPPORT in the form of money and presents. There was a fair amount of peer pressure to have a boyfriend. Furthermore, boyfriends put strong pressures on young women to be sexually active. However, while the influence of LOVERS contradicted that of the FAMILY in one respect, it echoed the FAMILY's pressure that women should have no more than one sexual partner at a time. A woman with more than one sexual partner was regarded as promiscuous, lacking in self-respect and a disgrace to the honour of her family, and an undesirable girlfriend. (Section 6.6 has referred to the socially acceptable status of a 'playboy' man compared to the relative disgrace of being regarded as a 'bitch' of a woman).

In weighing up the competing possibilities offered by LOVERS and FRIENDS on the one hand, and FAMILY on the other, fifteen girls had chosen to disregard their FAMILY's advice and to have sexual relationships. There were signs however that many of the sexually active women felt slightly uncomfortable about this decision:

> "When a young woman does wrong (deceives her parents in order to sleep with her boyfriend), she does so for the sake of her boyfriend. Such behaviour would not be reflecting the things she has been taught at home." (F7)

Young women took great pains to conceal their sexual relationships from their parents, claiming it would be disrespectful to do otherwise. Many settled on the compromise option of making every effort to conceal their affairs not only from their parents, but also from other adults in the community.

> "My family know that I respect them because when I go off with my boyfriend, I make my arrangements very secretly, and I hide where I am going from my family. Usually I lie and tell them I am going to visit a relative ... my mother knows that I am going to my boyfriend, but she knows that I am respecting her by denying it, and she appreciates this." (F7)

Thus in many cases, this type of concealment was simply a charade. It seems that many parents were aware of their childrens' sexual activities, but choose to turn a blind eye for the sake of appearances.

Another influential group in the debate about sexual activity was that of the EDUCATED. Four women said they had chosen not to have boyfriends because they wished to give their studies top priority. The fear of pregnancy was an important deterrent here. There was general agreement that having a baby seriously inhibited one's chances of having a bright future. Pregnancies resulted at best in the interruption of one's schooling, or at worst in its termination. Several of the seven women who already had babies commented that the birth of the baby had 'ruined their lives'.

In this regard, the EDUCATED grouping often served to reinforce the FAMILY's influence. The influence of the GENDER category was more ambiguous. On the one hand the GENDER grouping echoed family recipes restricting women, on the other hand it was clearly associated with the recipes of listening to one's boyfriend. Furthermore there was some ambiguity relating to the influence of LOVERS on young women insofar as it was only with regard to sex that young men encouraged their lovers to defy their families. In other ways boyfriends enlisted the family as an ally in controlling their girlfriends. This point will be taken up again in relation to the next criterion for female respectability, that of home-centredness.

In short, a set of structured traditional practices around sexuality and sexual socialisation appear to have been challenged by youth. Parents give daughters the very strong message that they should not be sexually active, but beyond this directive, discussion of sex between parents and youth is taboo.

Three girls said they had not known the facts of life when they had fallen pregnant. F7, for example, regretted her unplanned pregnancy, and felt her mother ought to have given her some sex education:

> "If I have a daughter I will give her sex education early - as young as eight years old. (Why didn't your mother do this?) I think most mothers think that because we are still young we might be shocked to hear them talking about sex, and ask them many questions about the matter, which would make them embarrassed." (F7)

Young women's sources of sexual socialisation vary in their degrees of reliability. With a cloud of secrecy around sexual relationships they may not always have anyone to advise them, and often appeared to be vulnerable to abuse by men. Female respondents often spoke of 'forced sex' or physical violence at the hands of their boyfriends, and of becoming pregnant by men who denied paternity of their babies.

Several young men in the sample said they would be reluctant to admit paternity if their girlfriends were to become pregnant. They offered a variety of reasons for this. Section 6.6 referred to M3, a Standard 8 scholar, who had regular sex with his two teenage girlfriends, without using any form of contraception, and who had the following to say when asked what he would do if one of them fell pregnant:

> "I would take time before I took any interest in the child. We Zulu people have got to see when the child is about one year old. At this age I could see whether it was mine or not - according to whether the child looked like my father or my uncle. Once I could see such a resemblance I would admit it was my child." (M3)

In relation to this criterion of respectability there was evidence for women weighing up their parents' directive against sex and pressures by other groupings, especially LOVERS and FRIENDS, to be sexually active. Generally they took the option of secretly defying their parents. They did however make a token gesture to their parents' guidelines for respectability by making every effort to keep their boyfriends a secret from older FAMILY members.

7.4.1.4 Home-centredness

Section 6.4 outlines the different behavioural possibilities for men and women with regard to freedom of movement, where women were severely restricted compared to men who were relatively free to come and go as they pleased. The influence of LOVERS and FAMILIES was quite complementary with regard to restricting the freedom of movement of young women. Home-centredness was the second criterion of respectability specifically applicable to young women. Women were restricted not only by their parents, but also by their boyfriends, brothers and the community. For scholars, a good girl was one that went directly to school in the morning, and returned home directly afterwards, For an unemployed young woman, a good girl was one who spent all her time at home unless she was visiting her girlfriends at their homes or going out on errands sent by older family members. A good daughter, sister or girfriend was seen as one who spent her time at home doing homework or housework - and did not loiter on the streets with her brother. (Males, on the other hand, were expected to be out and about in the world, earning money, having a good time, leading the struggle and so on.)

In the case of their girlfriends, boyfriends tended to reinforce the traditional family norms that a good woman should always give top priority to her home and family.

> "I like my girlfriend to be always at home, cleaning the house, reading her school books, keeping herself clean and neat, and only loving me." (M19)

For example M3 said one of his most important considerations in relation to his girlfriend was to see that their relationship did not interfere with the performance of her family obligations. M4 said he encouraged his girlfriend to pay attention to her family duties, saying that "she should respect her parents so that I can respect her".

Many young women stated that apart from going to school, and running errands for their parents, they did not leave their family homes without asking their boyfriends' permission. To break this rule would sometimes result in physical violence.

> "If Sifiso comes to my house and finds me absent, he just gives me a five-finger in my face. (Would you every consider hitting him back?) No I would not do this. He can give me far worse than I ever could." (F15)

The importance of asking a boyfriend's permission in this regard seemed to be an article of faith in young women's accounts of their identities. Even F9 who reported that her boyfriend took little interest in her, not caring whether she had other lovers or whether she stayed at home or not, still emphasised the importance that a young woman should consult her boyfriend if she wanted to go out.

Male respondents echoed these proscriptions, saying they would not tolerate their girlfriends moving around without their permission. Young men also said they did not like their girlfriends to have too many friends, since "friends tend to confuse a girl, and serve as a bad influence" (M7). According to the young men, their girlfriends' friends might tempt an impressionable young woman to drink, or to take up with more than one man. They might also persuade a young woman to leave an unemployed man, and take up with an employed one.

It has already been noted that young men appeared only to be interested in traditional family values insofar as they could enlist the family as an ally in controlling their girlfriends' movements. While young men liked to picture their girlfriends against the background of 'home and hearth' when they were not there to watch them, as we have already seen, boyfriends exerted great pressure on young women to resist their families' attempts to restrict their sexual behaviour.

In the case of freedom of movement, as in the case of sexual behaviour, young women weighed up the recipes for living associated with the FAMILY ('Don't sleep out at night') and LOVERS ('Why not? its fun'). They generally reached a compromise that involved sleeping out with their boyfriends every now and then, but not too often, and

keeping up appearances for the family's sake, usually by saying they were visiting friends or relatives on those evenings.

Thus young women do subvert some of their FAMILY's attempts to restrict them, which at one level would seem to be a move towards growing independence, only to have their boyfriends step in and exercise the control that was previously the province of the family. The control of the freedom of movement and activities of women by young men was achieved not only by parents and boyfriends, but also by brothers who took an active part in controlling their sisters.

"My brothers control me so that I can have a bright future." (F7)

In summary, in relation to both areas relating to the female criteria of respectability, namely sexual conduct and home-centredness, the interview data revealed women weighing up the recipes for living associated with the FAMILY and other competing group memberships, against the background of a varying degrees of commitment to the motivational criterion of respectability from one situation to the next. The following sub-section turns to the two predominantly male criteria for respectability, namely non-criminal and non-violent behaviour.

7.4.1.5 Criminal behaviour and violence

The two criteria of respectability that concerned young men in particular related to the avoidance of criminal behaviour and violence, which are discussed in turn. The option of participating in criminal behaviour was associated with the challenges of NETWORKING: CHOOSING FRIENDS and CODE OF CONDUCT: CRIME. Virtually all the young men in the sample disapproved of the option of criminal behaviour, with the categories of COMRADES and DECENT CITIZEN most frequently cited in this regard. While the FAMILY was infrequently mentioned as an influence here, it was always associated with an anti-crime stance in those cases when it was mentioned. Furthermore in a general sense, the decision not to commit crimes was consistent with FAMILY pressures on youth to behave in a responsible and respectable way.

While the majority of young men disapproved of the option of criminal behaviour, they all referred to the temptation of becoming involved in crime. This temptation was presented by the group membership of the TSOTSIS which presented the option of crime as an easy way to make money in a poverty-stricken environment. In weighing

up the possibilities offered by the TSOTSI grouping, against the pressures of the COMRADES, DECENT CITIZEN, and to a lesser extent the FAMILY, to behave in a non-criminal way, informants referred to a number strategies they used in keeping 'out of trouble'. The most commonly cited one was that of choosing one's friends carefully. FRIENDS membership offered the twin possibilities of friendships with upwardly mobile and respectable friends that would encourage one's progress towards a bright future, or criminals that would lead one astray with promises of vast remuneration for relatively little effort, coupled with the taste of adventure. M14 (an anxious person who spoke as if there were two options facing him, namely those of conspicuous success or cataclysmic failure), said that his way of keeping 'out of trouble' in the face of the temptations facing youth was to have as few friends as possible, and to stay at home most of the time. M4 cited LOVERS membership, referring to his girlfriend as a good influence. M8 saw the school as the most positive influence in this respect, both in terms of keeping young men off the streets, and in terms of the options for advancement associated with EDUCATED membership.

The second specifically male criterion for respectability was the option of violent as opposed to non-violent conflict resolution. This option featured centrally in relation to conflict in the interpersonal and the community contexts. In the interpersonal context violence was used as a means of resolving conflict by parents against children, teachers against pupils, brothers against sisters, fathers against mothers and between male peers (See NETWORKING: GUIDANCE and CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT). In this regard FAMILY membership was associated with the option of physical violence, which was considered a respectable form of discipline in certain interpersonal situations. Some slight opposition to the use of violence in the family or in the school came from certain members of the COMRADES grouping, who disapproved of the undemocratic social order that gave so much power to teachers and parents. However, as Section 7.4.3 will point out, violent punishment was an option frequently associated with the COMRADES grouping in the interpersonal as well as the community context. COMRADES justified this practice however by their disciplinary codes were based on a set of democratic practices sanctioned by the 'will of the People', rather than by systems of authority sanctioned by undemocratic social relationships.

Moving from the interpersonal to the community sphere of life the option of violent behaviour was associated with the challenges of CODE OF CONDUCT: CRIME (referring to the use of violence in crime prevention and punishment, as well as the use of violence in criminal activities) and CODE OF CONDUCT: POLITICAL

CONFLICT (referring to the use of violence in school boycotts as well as against political opponents). FAMILY membership was not cited as an important influence in relation to conflict in the public sphere of life. On those few occasions where FAMILY membership was cited in association with options for violent resolution of such conflict, FAMILY recipes for living were opposed by the COMRADES belief that violence was an important weapon that should be used responsibly and strategically against political opponents. Debates between between FAMILY and the COMRADES' recipes for living will be taken up in section 7.4.3.

The relative infrequency of the association of the FAMILY with the CRIME and POLITICAL CONFLICT challenges leads us to the more general point that the family exerts a greater influence over youth in the private and interpersonal spheres of life than in the community or public spheres. The confinement of family influence to the interpersonal spheres of interaction, and its relative lack of influence in the community sphere, is consistent with to the fact that FAMILY membership is significantly more influential on girls than boys, in a community where young women's identity is far more centrally tied to home and hearth than that of young men.

7.4.1.6 Concluding comments on Criterion 1: Respectability

Section 7.4.1 has illustrated the issues debated by youth as they weigh up the relative merits of behavioural options associated with the FAMILY and other group memberships in the light of the motivational criterion of respectability. These debates have been illustrated in the light of six criteria for respectability: respect, drinking, sexual conduct, home-centredness, criminal behaviour and violent behaviour. This section has pointed to evidence that in some situations both boys and girls rejected FAMILY recipes for respectable behaviour in favour of behavioural options presented by other group memberships. They often did this in covert rather than overt ways, however, making every attempt to keep up appearances of respectability in their parents' eyes. The relatively unusual evidence for overt challenges to the FAMILY notion of respectability tended to come from young men rather than young women, especially in the areas of respect (Section 7.4.1.1), and of violent behaviour in community and political conflicts (Section 7.4.1.5).

Having completed our account of the first motivational criterion of respectability, and of some of the issues weighed up by youth in pursuance of this motivational goal, the following sections focus on the second and third motivational criteria according to which youth judge the adaptative success of various group memberships' options, namely self-improvement and personal/community empowerment.

7.4.2 Criterion 2: Self-improvement

The motivational criterion of self-improvement was a key factor in determining informants' choices of recipes for living. It was in relation to this criterion that FAMILY recipes for living tended to be the least controversial. In many cases these were simply adopted by youth. However FAMILY recipes were often insufficiently well-developed in the areas of education and career choice, and needed to be expanded from other social guides on the rare occasions where informants were lucky enough to have access to these.

The theme of self-improvement was echoed again and again by informants. Youth almost invariably took a dim view of their present circumstances, and often defined themselves in terms of their plans for uplifting themselves and their families. In response to the physical and material deprivation of their present lives one of the ways young people coped with their difficult life circumstances was through talking, planning and dreaming of a better life when they were older. It was reinforced by their parents who were often sustained by the hope that their children would achieve all they themselves had failed to achieve in their own lives.

> "Mother and father want someone from the family to be educated, so that our family can be respected by the community." (F10)

Every informant but one[40] expressed a commitment to self-improvement and upward mobility. There were two approaches to self-improvement. The first, a relatively apolitical and individualistic approach, involved self-improvement through education. This approach was geared towards the attainment of an improved standard of living through access to material wealth and comforts. This approach will be discussed in the current section. The second, more political approach, that of self-improvement by means of community empowerment through access by black people to political power, will be discussed in in Section 7.4.3 below.

Informants emphasising an apolitical and individualistic approach to self-improvement attributed the plight of working class families to problems faced by particular families and individual family members, as opposed to problems facing the the community as a whole. Informants almost invariably attributed these problems to individuals' lack of education.

> "I don't want to involve myself in politics ... I am satisfied with my lot. I have my mother who is working, and we are eating and we have a house ... All that we haven't got is education. If we had education we would be satisfied. Educated people have everything. Earning money, owning houses, driving big cars. (Do you think that you will have these things one day?) I will. I see the dim lights coming (at the end of the tunnel). In fact, they are not even dim, they are getting brighter." (F14)

According to this view community improvement would come through the efforts of hard-working individuals becoming educated, which would put them in the position to 'uplift' the community through their efforts. These individuals would also help the

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40 This was M15, unemployed, with five years of schooling, whose family continually threatened to evict him, describing him as a "useless hobo". He said he saw no possibility of self-improvement, and felt that one day he would end up as a tsotsi.

community by encouraging and helping other people to become educated and to succeed.

This view corresponded to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) account of the social belief structure of social mobility. As opposed to the politicised approach, which outlined hopes for the future in terms of social goals, those emphasising the apolitical approach spoke in terms of providing their own children and families with those opportunities and comforts they had lacked in their own childhoods. A phrase that cropped up particularly frequently in interviews was that their children should have 'everything they want'. This phrase generally referred to material comforts and opportunities for a good education.

Evidence for this motivational criterion was apparent across the range of adaptative challenges, but most particularly in the challenges relating to PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE (EDUCATION, FAMILY LIFE, CAREER PLANS), and to NETWORKING (BROADENING HORIZONS, EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, MATERIAL SUPPORT, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, CHOOSING FRIENDS).

The apolitical notion of self-improvement through education was closely associated with the FAMILY. The FAMILY was influential in encouraging its members to strive to become educated, and to get good jobs. However individuals were not only inspired to aspire towards education by their own families. They were also inspired by their visions of the families they themselves would set up in the future when they were adults, defined in sharp contradistinction to their own deprived childhoods:

> "My children must have a better life than I have had. I have had to sweat for everything. All I have achieved I have struggled to get. I hope that they will have an easier life." (F14)

The apolitical individualistic recipes for living associated with the family were generally regarded as uncontroversial, and reinforced particularly strongly by the CHURCH, DECENT CITIZEN, LOVERS, FRIENDS and EDUCATED memberships (although Section 7.4.3 will point to some ambiguities in the behavioural possibilities offered by the EDUCATED group in this regard). As will be seen in the next section it was the more politicised recipes for self-improvement that came into the greatest conflict with FAMILY recipes.

FRIENDS were considered important allies in the fight for self-improvement, with friends and fellow-scholars being cited as key sources of educational help and moral support, invaluable resources in the struggle for self-improvement:

> "My friends encourage me not to lose perseverence in doing things and not to be a loser. (?) They are encouraging me to try my very best to study by correspondence, and not to end up being a labourer." (M6)

Informants often chose those friends "who wish to be able to leave their circumstances" (F3).

> "I do not have unemployed friends ... I choose my friends from amongst the scholars ... we have something in common." (F10)

Education was not only the key to a 'bright future', but also the route to community respect and status. Section 7.3 pointed to the low social status of the poorly valued out-group of the UNEDUCATED.

Despite the frequency of references to education being the key to a bright future, as well as numerous references to *professional career possibilities*, *informants were* generally vague about the way in which education would help them, and few had clear ideas about job prospects. To some extent the notion of 'education', like that of respect, appeared to be a rhetorical coping mechanism for living in a deprived environment. While education and the possibility of a professional career offered what many youth regard as their sole possibility for self-improvement, the reality for many young people is that their chances of achieving these goals are extremely limited. Section 6.9 and Appendix A.1 refer to the range of obstacles facing youth in their quest for education, and the fact that only a small percentage of black youth actually finish school or achieve the kind of 'bright futures' they hoped for in their youths.

Thus while FAMILY membership plays a major role in relation to this criterion, with parents urging their children to be upwardly mobile, successful and so on, it appeared that these parents had little sense of the concrete ways in which one would go about achieving these goals. Youth themselves also often had only vague and amorphous views of how to achieve success, with several informants having little idea how they should go about pursuing their ambitions. Thus for example F3, a bright, energetic and positive person, who was awaiting her matric results, spoke of her parents' excitement that one of their children had at last reached the final year of schooling. She spoke of how proud her parents were when she was able to read aloud letters that were sent to the family, and of how her mother and father wanted her to become a social worker. However, on questioning, it appeared that neither she nor her parents had any knowledge of what training was necessary to become one. Thus while many parents urged their children to finish school and take up careers, often neither the young people nor their parents had the necessary knowledge to follow up these ambitions.

Such young people leave school to be thrown into a world where competition for tertiary education and bursaries is particularly keen, not equipped with adequate knowledge of how to pursue their desired career goals. Many respondents expressed the desire to take up careers such as in law, medicine, radiography and dentistry and had structured their social identity around these goals. For many of them these goals would be unattainable given the expenses involved in tertiary education, as well as the wide range of social obstacles that stand in the way of a school-leaver from an poor family.

Even for those whose chances of a professional career had already evaporated, informants often still defined themselves in terms of these goals. F9, a 21-year-old unemployed woman who had dropped out of school in Std 7, and was pregnant with her second child, spoke at length of how her pregnancies had finally dashed her slender hopes of returning to school and becoming a social worker. Yet later in the interview she referred to her future in terms of her plans to become a social worker. Informants who had for one or another reason failed in the difficult task of completing school, referred wistfully to their youthful ambitions. F7 for example reminisced about her schoolgirl ambitions to become a dentist, M7 about his childhood dream of becoming a male nurse.

For some informants who had failed in their own attempts to succeed at school, association with those who were more successful was the 'next best' option. Such people made a point of choosing friends who were succeeding with their education, or placed their hopes in siblings who were still at school, or else - in the case of women - hoped to marry a man with a good job. F7 said she had been forced to leave school due to the birth of her baby, and said that it was extremely unlikely that she would be able to return. However she still identified strongly with the EDUCATED grouping, despite the fact that membership of this grouping was currently inaccessible to her, and she referred to education as the only means for community upliftment. Furthermore she cited a student at the local TTC (teachers' training college) as her closest friend, and said that one of her greatest pleasures was doing mathematics with this friend. M18 was another subject who defined himself as a member of the EDUCATED group, which was in fact inaccessible to him, having left school due to family poverty which showed no sign of abating.

> "I still regard myself as a scholar in the true sense. I just feel my education has been interrupted." (M18)

For informants such as F7 and M18, there was evidence of a dysjunction between their membership group (the group to which they belonged, *de facto*, that of the

UNEDUCATED) and their reference group (the group with which they identified, namely that of the EDUCATED). The possibility of further education and a professional career remained one of the central pillars of their accounts of their social identity. Yet a range of social obstacles restricted their access to this desired group membership.

F7's friendship and identification with her TTC friend allowed her a degree of vicarious identity with the EDUCATED group to which she no longer had direct access. Through maintaining a close association with a young woman who was achieving what she would herself have liked to achieve, she achieved a sense of self-enhancement through her association with someone who was achieving the dreams that she herself had abandoned.

7.4.2.1 Concluding comments on Criterion 2: Self-improvement.

Section 7.4.2 has examined the motivational criterion of self-improvement through education in the interests of illustrating Points 1, 2 and 3 in the project's account of the Debating Process of Social Identity Construction. It has focussed on behavioural options associated with the FAMILY and other groupings available to youth in pursuance of this motivational goal. It was in relation to the criterion of self-improvement that FAMILY recipes for living were subject to the least critical debate. Both youth and their parents were unanimous in their yearning for the possibility of a better future, and educational success was seen as the surest route to achieving this. A wide range of other group memberships reinforced this goal. While FAMILY recipes were regarded as appropriate, they were in many ways inadequate. Neither the FAMILY, nor in fact any other group memberships available to youth, provided youth with more than a broad and general commitment to the pursuit of education and the dream of a professional future. It seemed that youth were severely hampered in their drive for self-improvement through both lack of opportunities and also lack of access to knowledge about the concrete means of achieving these goals.

The next section turns to the final criterion that motivates the more politicised youth in the sample, that of personal and community improvement through political empowerment. It was in relation to this motivational criterion that FAMILY recipes for living were the most fiercely contested, in particularly by COMRADES membership.

7.4.3 Criterion 3: Personal/community empowerment

Self-improvement through education and career success were not regarded as the only means of improving the lives of informants. Criterion 2 emphasised the attainment of education as a means to improved social status, a higher standard of living and more material comforts. In contrast, criterion 3 was associated with access to political power. For some informants the notions of personal upliftment and community empowerment were inseparable. Personal upliftment could not be attained by individual self-advancement alone. It would also require a shift in the balance of apartheid power relations between black and white, and between rich and poor. Commitment to this motivational criterion was based on one of two kinds of assumption. Firstly, social change was seen as an essential precondition for one's personal and family upliftment. Some youth attributed their own and their family's problems to the social disadvantages facing black South Africans. Secondly, some suggested that concern with one's own personal and family upliftment should be secondary to one's concern with bringing about community empowerment. This anti-individualistic emphasis, associated with COMRADES membership, presented an interest in the community as a higher and more worthy concern than an interest in oneself and ones' own family at the individual level.

This motivational criterion viewed involvement in the grassroots anti-apartheid political struggle (as defined in Section 6.18) as the route to the simultaneous achievement of personal and community empowerment. This view corresponds to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) account of the social belief structure of social competition. It involved taking concrete social action to bring about an alternative set of social relationships, inspired by what Hogg and Abrams (1988, p. 16) refer to as the "recognition of (the) common plight" of working class black South Africans.

The motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment was a central issue for the COMRADES in the sample. The notion of community empowerment included strategies such as the following:

(a) to fight the high crime rate in order to strengthen community morale, which was perceived to be undermined by dangerous living conditions;

(b) to set up community structures (e.g. Peoples' Courts) that were democratically accountable to the communities they served, in contrast to the undemocratic practices of the apartheid government;

(c) to challenge those political opponents who sought to undermine the black working class struggle; and

(d) to encourage more democratic social relations between different age, race and class groups, in opposition to the inequalities characterising apartheid society.

In certain respects, criterion 2 (self-improvement) and criterion 3 (personal/community empowerment) are not mutually exclusive. Some youth explicitly linked them together, with several comrades commenting that education was crucial to the goal of community empowerment in the sense that an uneducated person would be less able to make a significant contribution to the political struggle than an educated person. Individuals did however tend to emphasise one criterion or the other as their highest motivation, prioritising either the struggle for social change, or else personal advancement, in their accounts of their social identity.

The former grouping devoted their energies to political organisation, and were prepared to make great sacrifices to meet this end.

> "They can kill me, but they cannot kill the ideals that I am fighting for." (M13, who had spent almost a year in political detention without trial and been subjected to torture)

COMRADES membership provided a sense of empowerment and direction for several of the young men who had dropped out of the school system. It provided young men, whose life situations appeared hopeless, with a the possibility of a positive social identity. The role of comrades membership in promoting a sense of personal empowerment was clearly exemplified in relation to unemployed young men. Membership of this grouping gave them a frame of reference for interpreting their negative experiences in the workplace, either as unsuccessful work-seekers, or as part-time workers under poor conditions. A comparison between the social identity of M6 and M7 illustrates this point. Both had spent two or three years prior to the interviews looking for work, occasionally finding poorly paid temporary positions. M6, a highly politicised person, interpreted his negative experiences in the workplace as evidence for class and racial injustices. His response to these negative experiences was to throw himself into the local COMRADES' attempts to bring about social change. M6 spoke energetically and confidently about the future. M7, who had no interest in politics at all, accepted his negative experiences with resignation. When asked to give reasons for high levels of unemployment he shrugged and commented simply that there were "too many people and too few factories". His attitude to life was characterised by dogged resignation. He spoke in flat tones about his daily wait in queues outside factory gate.

His spare time was spent drinking, gambling and ensuring that his girlfriend remained faithful to him, and did not go off with a man with better prospects than himself. He came across as lonely and alienated, with few friends, and little hope for the future.

COMRADES membership was a significant factor in providing respondents with a sense of mastery and control:

> "When you are a comrade you know where you are going, compared to others in the community who are billowed around by strong winds." (F20)
>
> "I am nothing without the struggle for my rights ..." (M6)

Section 6.18 and Section 7.3 dealt with the way in which the comrades defined themselves in sharp contrast to the older generation, who, they claimed, had passively accepted their oppression. COMRADE membership opened by the possibility of taking control of their lives in a way their parents had failed to do. As M6 has already been quoted as saying:

> "The old people are scared of the white man. They see him as somebody like God they had never seen before. They never saw that what the white person said might have been wrong or right, bad or good. It didn't even occur to them to question anything. The older generation have been prepared to accept everything the hardest way, they have had to struggle for everything they have got. But the young people don't wait for hard times. They are always active." (M6)

This group membership provided youth with the opportunity to take some control in chaotic social conditions, and to make some contribution to community upliftment.

> "I always had an ambition to help the community and the comrades have given me a chance to do so. We fight with criminals in my area and now we have less crime. Before being a comrade I did not care so deeply about my friends, but now through what I have gained by being a comrade I can now work hand in hand with another person." (M4)
>
> "Comrades are people who are sympathetic to others and stand for the truth, even if they might end up dying for it. They don't want to change their goals, no matter what ... they help the community to avoid crime, and help at school where children want to rape the teachers or the other students ... they usually speak for the whole community, and not only for themselves, they help people who have problems, and they want people to be more clear about the new South Africa when the time comes." (F20)

The political arena had provided many youth with a framework for criticising the apartheid social order that had caused them and their families so much suffering. It provided them with a vision for the future, and with the sense that they had the power to take control of their destinies.

> "The ambition of young men is to be well educated in a free society where they will speak for themselves - up until now most things have been done by whites only without consulting blacks, no matter whether blacks wanted to accept it or not, or whether it was good or bad ... Apartheid is a disease - young men feel pain because of this disease. The cure of this disease is for us to destroy it. There is no alternative." (M6)

Comrades activities served to give the comrades a sense of being active participants in the struggle for change. The concept of Peoples' Court, for example, developed against the backdrop of working class township residents' lack of faith in the criminal justice system of the apartheid state, and the failure of the police to curb high levels of township crime (see Section 6.1). The practical agenda of the courts was the elimination of criminal elements in the township. The political agenda was to establish 'organisations of peoples' power' within the townships which were run along democratic lines and directly accountable to the people they served. The concepts and procedures of these courts were designed to empower community residents and point towards a new community structure where residents would be in direct control of significant aspects of their lives such as the maintenance of community law and order.

The COMRADES grouping was associated with a series of new and (according to the criterion of personal/community empowerment) highly adaptative recipes for living. These included, for example, the necessity that one might have to risk one's life for the political struggle, and that the end goal of political freedom was the highest possible motive, to which one would have to sacrifice ones individual interests.

> "... as I have devoted myself to the struggle I know that one day *I will be killed* by the bullet of the Boer ..." (M10)

The COMRADES morality was a pragmatic one, and one where otherwise unacceptable behaviour might be necessary as a means to the end of freedom. For example Chapter 6 referred to M4, an extremely moralistic young man, who cited church membership as his most valued group membership, said that he disapproved of those who "killed other people without good reason", and argued that political murderers should be disciplined with "strokes" as opposed to common criminals who should be hanged.

With regard to the criterion of personal/community empowerment the most heated debates took place between the behavioural options of the COMRADES and the FAMILY. In general, parents who were relatively unpoliticised, ascribed their own life problems to lack of education rather than to broader political factors. They urged their children to focus energy on the individual upliftment through education, rather than

what they regarded as dangerous political activities with an uncertain outcome. The comrades' assertive and radical critique of society stood in sharp contradiction to the fearful and timid acceptance of the status quo of many older family members, who sometimes found it alarming. Furthermore, in their antipathy to their childrens' politicised outlook parents were guided by a well-founded fear for the safety of their offspring. The decade of the 80's saw thousands of township youth either killed or imprisoned for their political convictions (see Appendix A.1).

Family members of the older generation sometimes went to great lengths to prevent their offspring from becoming politically involved. Comrade M13's father, for example, an Inkatha supporter, had actually left home and cut off support for his family, after his wife and children refused to obey his command that M13 be banned from the household, and excluded from the family circle. M4's mother was threatening to stop paying his school fees, because he refused to obey his (recently deceased) Inkatha father's command that none of his children become involved in resistance politics.

In identifying with the COMRADES, and the possibilities this grouping offered for personal and community empowerment, many young men had to weigh up the costs of their continued involvement both in terms of personal safety and family opposition. This was not always an easy option. M13, who had spent almost a year under police detention and periodic torture, was a dedicated scholar, believing that education was an important qualification for a good political activist. On his release he could not find a school in his township that would take him. Several schools in the area were controlled by principals who were sympathetic to Inkatha, and even those which were not, were unwilling to admit a former detainee who would be regarded as a 'potential trouble-maker' during a period of explosive political unrest in which school boycotts were regarded as a key tool of struggle. Eventually M13 managed to gain access to a school some distance away from his township. This involved hours of expensive travel to and from school each day, an expense which his poor family could ill afford.

COMRADES membership served to offer youth competing recipes to those of the FAMILY with regard to expectations of work and school. Comrades were concerned to prepare fellow members for a more assertive attitude to the workplace than their parents had had. They insisted that black people should not tolerate poor working conditions. This view conflicted with the tendency of parents to suggest that young people should find one job, and stick to it, no matter how difficult the working conditions might be.

> "Father has told us that we must persevere in our work, stay in one job for as long as we can, even if its not nice, as he did. He stayed for 20 or 30 years in one job." (F3)

M13 said his father had once tried to arrange for him to obtain employment in the factory where he had worked for many years. However M13 was adamant that he would never do this:

> "I would rather be unemployed than go into my father's factory ... there is no union protecting workers - and their working conditions are very bad as far as I know ... Seeing a lot of workers unprotected like that is a pain to me, and to be party to the acts of that factory will be very painful for me ... my father is wasting his time if he thinks I will end up in that factory." (M13)

Despite evidence for radical *discontinuities between FAMILY and COMRADES* recipes for living, there are however a number of continuities between them. COMRADES *articulated their recipes for living in sharp contrast to the family's* commitment to an hierarchical view of the world and an individualistic notion of self-advancement. In opposition to these they expoused ideals of democracy and anti-individualism. In practice, however, despite their fiercely articulated opposition to hierarchical social relationships and practices such as corporal punishment, associated with the family and the school, the COMRADES sometimes drew, albeit in a refashioned way, on some of the very hierarchical practices that they aimed to be avoiding. This section now turns to cite evidence of such FAMILY-COMRADES continuities in the areas of age and gender relations, the rigid disciplinary practices of the comrades and their practice of corporal punishment.

With regard to gender relations, Chapter 8 will deal at length with the fact that despite the COMRADES dedication to ending unequal social relations of all forms, there was evidence that group members are often guilty of undemocratic attitudes to women, drawing on the most conservative range of FAMILY recipes for living, which served to exclude women from many political activities.

With regard to hierarchical age relations, despite their vociferous rejection of the 'old-fashioned' notion of age hierarchies, these permeated young peoples' expectations of the world in a range of subtle ways. In particular informants expected younger siblings or neighbours to treat them with respect. For example, M20, a staunch comrade, commented thus on the indignity of being unemployed:

> "Where I live unemployed boys command no status in the community. Even youngsters as young as four or five years old - if you try and send them to the shop or ask them for help they say no - because there is nothing they can hope to expect from an unemployed person. It erodes you not even demanding respect from a young child." (M20)

Although the COMRADES argued for a more democratic relationship between themselves and their parents, certain comments suggested authoritarian attitudes to persons younger than themselves. While discussing an incident where he had been elected to discipline a peer who had misbehaved, one comrade made the following comment:

> "If you don't give someone a proper lash, you are not showing him how to beat someone. And if you have never had experience in beating someone, how will you ever know how to punish your own children in the future?" (M6)

Turning now to the issue of discipline, as opposed to their fierce opposition to authoritarian attitudes by parents towards youth in families, there was evidence that COMRADES often treated each other in extremely authoritarian ways. M6, one of the most radical and politically active comrades was excessively obedient to senior comrades. He asked the research interviewers to write a letter verifying that he had been at the university, and confirming the time the interview had finished, so he could present the letter to a senior comrade as proof that he had not been remiss in arriving late at an activists' meeting.

The COMRADES also draw on FAMILY guidelines for rigid and hierarchical discipline in formulating the COMRADES' code of conduct. Corporal punishment (widely denounced by the COMRADES for its use by parents within the FAMILY and by school teachers) was a central pillar of the Peoples' Courts. However, in this case youth justified the use of this practice, saying that rather than being undemocratically administered by a tyrannical school teacher or parent, in the Courts corporal punishment was administered after consultation with the People, to whom the courts were accountable. In a disrupted community characterised by high levels of crime, an ineffective police force, high levels of social alienation and poverty, crime is a serious problem. In their attempt to prevent crime and punish criminals the COMRADES have few options available from which to fashion COMRADES recipes for punishment. Corporal punishment is an option that is easily accessible, and one that works. But refashioning it in a way that is more acceptable, and more in line with their general commitment to democracy, the COMRADES had served to reformulate a previously unacceptable behavioural guideline into what they regarded as a more acceptable one in a different context.

Thus there was evidence that in the process of fashioning new recipes for living, to deal with the (historically fairly new) demands of the highly political nature of their social environment, youth often drew on pre-existing recipes for living as their raw materials in the task of identity construction. This meant that in certain respects they relied heavily on aspects of the old traditional hierarchical society that they totally rejected at another level.

In a community steeped in hierarchical social practices, the scarcity of raw materials for giving content to youth's political ideals was often in evidence. There were not always clear guidelines on how to implement new political ideas in a concrete form. Thus for example one of M13's applications of the notion of democracy seemed somewhat idiosyncratic (see Section 6.16). Quoting the Children's Charter that all children have the right to choose, he insisted that his impoverished mother spend a large sum of money on an expensive pair of trousers chosen by his eight-year-old nephew, insisting that any attempt to restrict his nephew's choice constituted "oppression" of the child.

In summary, the COMRADES did draw on those very FAMILY-based notions of hierarchical social relationships, respect, discipline and corporal punishment (that they regarded as problematic in many ways) as a way of structuring their lives, where they often had to develop new recipes for living at relatively short historical notice. They drew on these notions selectively however, reinterpreting them in the light of the new demands of the politicised social environment. Thus while in many ways the behavioural possibilities associated with COMRADES membership were new and revolutionary (e.g. their strict rules regarding the accountability of all their actions to the community as a whole, the notion of 'Peoples' Power', their refusal to compromise in their opposition to apartheid and capitalism), in other respects many COMRADES practices showed evidence of continuity with the very practices and relations which they sought to overturn.

Having looked at the interaction between the COMRADES grouping and the FAMILY with regard to the motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment, we now turn to look at the role of the EDUCATED group, which often tended to reinforce the FAMILY's less politicised recipes for living. Despite this general tendency however, the EDUCATED group had in fact also served as a profoundly politicising influence on certain youth. In this respect the influence of the group was ambiguous in the support it gave to those prioritising individual self-improvement through education and to those prioritising community empowerment.

Section 7.4.2 referred to the way in which membership of the EDUCATED grouping had pointed the towards success in terms of individualistic self-advancement. Furthermore, in many ways the institution of the school solidly reinforced the FAMILY's hierarchical, individualistic and conformist ethic, in opposition to the comrades' emphasis on community-mindedness, democratisation of social relations and a refusal to conform to behavioural guidelines that might serve perpetuate the 'old' social order. Scholars spoke of rigid school rules, and strict discipline, including routine corporal punishment of boys and girls of all age groups, as well as unquestioning respect for teachers. Several informants used the analogy of 'school as family' in their accounts of how scholars should behave.

> "Pupils should regard themselves as brothers and sisters, and take the teachers as their parents." (F3)

More radical respondents however pointed to education as the source of those critical intellectual tools and the widened horizons that had informed their rejection of their parents' recipes for living as old-fashioned and inappropriate for modern day life. Furthermore, involvement in school boycotts had served as an important politicising factor for many young people. As Section 6.2 suggests, school boycotts were the area of political action in which women were most likely to become involved. Bringing large numbers of youth into the highly problematic apartheid school system had served to unite them around a set of common grievances (see Appendix A.1).

There was evidence of tension between individuals' responses to the politicising options offered by the EDUCATED group. Some youth regarded the political conscientisation they had received through schooling as a positive and empowering factor. Others felt that they had been coerced into participation in school-based protest activities, which had served not only to hinder them in their personal progress, but would also serve to hinder the progress of black people in general.

> "Children get involved in boycotts which cost them months, or even years of schooling. This will eventually result in us (black people) being an uneducated group, while other races go forward." (M14)

The group membership of YOUNGER GENERATION was another ambiguous one, interpreted in two possible ways, and presenting youth with two possible behavioural styles. On the one hand, particularly in relation to political identity, membership of the YOUNGER GENERATION group was associated with behaviour of a politically active and militant nature. According to this interpretation of the category, young people were

responsible for changing the oppressive world their parents had bequeathed them. They were bold, educated and street-wise, and not afraid to stand up for their rights.

> "At the present point in time the old people can only think about ancient times and ancient things that they were doing in those times. At that time they were in the dark. The younger generation think of what is going on now, and are correcting those mistakes of the older generation. But the older generation don't want these mistakes to be corrected by the younger generation. They think these people are still young and that they don't have the right to tell older people what to do." (M7)

This interpretation of the group membership of YOUNGER GENERATION was clearly in conflict with the family's emphasis on respect for one's elders. However the group membership of YOUNGER GENERATION was not always in this conflict with the family. On other occasions the group membership was associated with those behaviours that showed 'respect' for the older generation.

Closer attention to this apparent contradiction indicated that the two possible interpretations of this group membership were associated with different adaptative challenges. The more respectful interpretation of YOUNGER GENERATION was associated with youth's rather vague and sometimes rhetorical comments about how one ought to behave towards ones elders (e.g. CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT). The more independent and assertive interpretation was given in relation to political challenges (especially NETWORKING: POLITICAL IDENTITY), to opportunities offered by the modern world to the new generation of youth (especially NETWORKING: HORIZONS) and to the assessment of the suitability of the older generation to advise youth on the demands of modern life (especially NETWORKING: GUIDANCE).

7.4.3.1 Concluding comments on Criterion 3:

Personal/community empowerment.

Section 7.4.3 has focused on debates between behavioural options associated with the FAMILY and competing social groupings in relation to the third motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment postulated in Point 3. It was in relation to this motivational criterion that FAMILY recipes were most fiercely contested by youth. However there was also some evidence that even the most radical grouping, the COMRADES, did tend to draw selectively on certain aspects of FAMILY recipes for living, despite their rejection of other FAMILY-associated recipes. The COMRADES used these as raw materials in the task of fashioning what they considered as adaptative behavioural options in the interests of pursuing the motivational goal of

personal/community empowerment. This process illustrates what Murray (1981) refers to as the simultaneous processes of "conservation" and "dissolution" of old social forms in the process of fashioning new recipes for living under conditions of social change.

7.5 Conclusion of Chapter 7

Marx's claim that people make their own history, though not in circumstances of their own choosing, is a useful insight. People construct their own identities, but do so within the constraints and possibilities presented to them by their social context. The aim of this chapter has been to cut across the individual adaptative challenges outlined in Chapter 6 with the intention of highlighting some of the themes and processes at work in the process of social identity construction by township youth. This thesis portrays youth as active agents involved in the complex task of forging a self-definition against the background of political uncertainty, economic harship and rapid social change. The Debating Process of Social Identity Construction has been outlined in terms of three points, and illustrated by means of a focus on the respective influences of the FAMILY and competing social guides on the social identity of youth.

This has been done against the backdrop of a changing environment where recipes for living in a number of areas of youth's lives (ranging from sexual mores to political views) are in the process of transformation, as the changing social environment bombards youths with new demands and challenges. Furthermore the social hierarchies of power relations between black and white, old and young and (to a more limited extent) men and women are in the process of re-negotiation, presenting youth with new possibilities, new dilemmas, new fuel for debate. Most informants were the first generation in their families to have grown up in an urbanised environment. They had also generally reached higher levels of schooling than their parents. Youth also held more radical political views than their parents, and were far more conscious of the political power of black people. This consciousness was reinforced daily by unfolding political events, as the grand apartheid regime was brought to its knees in the late 80's. For this reason youth often engaged in debate with their parents' recipes for living.

How did youth respond to the possibilities offered by the FAMILY? They engaged in a process of debate, weighing up the behavioural options provided by the FAMILY and competing social groupings in the light of particular social demands (Point 1). They assessed the usefulness of these recipes for living in the light of their perceived adaptative success (Point 2), where adaptative success was judged according to their degree of commitment to the criteria of respectability, self-improvement and

personal/community empowerment (Point 3). With regard to the FAMILY this debate could have one of three outcomes. Firstly they might simply reject the FAMILY's behavioural guidelines in favour of those offered by other social groupings. Secondly they might accept the FAMILY's behavioural guidelines. Thirdly they might refashion or reinvent FAMILY guidelines, tailoring them to meet the demands of particular social situations.

Again it must be emphasised that the three criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment are socially and historically specific to township social relations at a particular historical moment. They are relevant to the identity of South African township youth in the late 1980's and early 1990's. Broadly speaking, the notion of respectability includes two components, a commitment to showing 'respect' to others and a commitment to having a good name in the community. It is suggested that this commitment to respect is inextricably bound up with the fact that both in terms of age and gender relations African family relationships are in transition from a strict, hierarchical and authoritarian mode to a more fluid and democratic mode. The commitment to having a good name in the community, the second dimension of respectability, is very likely to be strong in a social context where people lack the material or educational raw materials to achieve social status, and must therefore achieve this through their reputations to achieve this (along the lines of 'he was uneducated, but he was honest', or 'she was poor and uneducated, but she was virtuous').

The second criterion for perceived adaptative success, namely the commitment to self-improvement through education, is also understandable in the context of a depressed community, where for many people education offers to offer the only route to an improved quality of life and social status.

The third criterion, commitment to community empowerment is also socially and historically specific. It can be understood as a response to the demands of the harsh discrimination and extreme deprivation experienced by black people under the apartheid regime at a time when there were ever increasing signs that the power of the regime was about to crack, pointing to the possibility of a new social, political and economic era for black South Africans. These signs must have encouraged youth in their commitment to this criterion, giving them a sense of the political power of black South Africans and of the growing inability of the white regime to stem the tide of black resistance.

It should be noted that in debates concerning the selection of behavioural options in response to an adaptative challenge, it is not only the case that people are faced with 'between-group' choices (e.g. should I choose the option presented by the FAMILY or by the COMRADES?). Sometimes they may also be faced with a 'within-group' choice. Group memberships (e.g. YOUNGER GENERATION and EDUCATED) may themselves present people with different behavioural possibilities. This is because group memberships are fluid in nature, providing a transforming range of possibilities to youth under the influence of a rapidly changing social environment.

How does this chapter take the thesis forward in terms of its theoretical goals? It is suggested that this chapter's account of the Debating Process of Social Identity Formation, in terms of Points 1, 2 and 3, contributes to an extension of two aspects of social identity theory, namely (i) the issue of the salience of social identity, and (ii) the issue of the motivational criterion driving identity formation. These extensions begin to meet two of the theoretical challenges to social identity theorists (outlined in Chapter 2.4), *viz.* those of theorising the individual-society interaction in the process of identity formation, and of providing a dynamic account of identity.

Looking first at salience, existing work in this area has taken the form of Oakes' (1983) accessibility x fit formulation, and Turner et al.'s (1987) metacontrast ratio (see Part (v) of Section 2.3). This work aims to provide an account of the processes whereby particular group memberships become salient ('switched on') for individuals in particular situations. While these formulations are undoubtedly extremely elegant, they provide an asocial account of cognitive processes and tend to focus predominantly on the intra-individual level of analysis. The real world is often reduced to a rather statically conceived variable, referred to in terms of "stimuli" (e.g. the accounts of salience provided by Oakes 1983 and Turner et al. 1987) These accounts of salience tell us little about the process of social identity formation by real people in the real world. For the purposes of the current project, these formulations are of little use in attempting to analyse the open-ended 'identity talk' of actual people in real-life social contexts. As has already been suggested (Chapter 2) social psychologists who wish to contribute to an understanding of real social problems in the real world need to develop theories capable of understanding the experience of real people.

It is suggested that Points 1, 2 and 3 provide a useful 'real life' extension of the notion of salience, and one which moves away from the excessively cognitivist focus of the work of Oakes (1983) and Turner et al. (1987) in this regard. This thesis's account of the Debating Process of Social Identity suggests that a particular group membership

will become salient if and when the individual judges its associated recipes for living as useful resources for coping with a particular adaptative challenge presented to them by the social and material world (according to socially specific criteria for perceived adaptative success).

Points 2 and 3 contribute to the current debate in social identity theory concerning the motivational process underlying social identity formation. SIT theorises that people are motivated by the drive towards self-esteem. More recently, SCT theorists such as Hogg and Abrams (1990) have suggested that the motivational processes underlying social identity are more diverse and that self-esteem is probably only one of many motivational criteria, with other criteria including the drive towards cognitive coherence, or the tendency of the individual to search for meaning.

This study suggests that perceived adaptative success rather than e.g. self-esteem or the search for cognitive coherence is the fundamental motivational criterion in the formation of social identity. In surveying the range of behavioural options presented to them by their available group memberships, youth choose those behavioural options that will ensure their survival under conditions where material resources are scarce and the individual has no access to political and social power. Individuals choose those behavioural options with the highest adaptative value. As has been stressed repeatedly, the emphasis placed by youth on the criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment in their evaluation of what constitutes adaptative success is linked to a range of historically specific conditions of township life. The criteria for what count as perceived adaptative success will vary from one social grouping to another.

It is argued that the three-point account of the Debating Process of Social Identity Construction outlined and illustrated in this chapter provides a useful contribution in the quest for the development of a 'truly social' social identity theory, particularly in the light of two of the challenges posed to social identity theorists:

i) With regard to the challenge of theorising the individual-society interaction, it is argued that just as the trialogue model points to the way in which society is implicated in the structuring of identity, so does this thesis's account of the Debating Process of Identity point to the way in which the process of identity construction is shaped by the individual's location within a concrete social and material world. This world presents the individual with adaptative challenges to be met, as well as the raw materials for meeting them, in the form of repertoires

of possible identities to be adopted or refashioned. It also provides youth with socially negotiated guidelines (respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment) that serve to orient them in the process of identity construction.

ii) With regard to the challenge of establishing a dynamic account of identity formation, it is argued that this chapter has illustrated the process whereby youth adopt, reject or refashion existing group memberships and recipes for living in terms of their perceived adaptative success for meeting the ever-changing problems of daily life presented to them in a rapidly changing society. In other words it provides an illustration of the way in which identities are formed and transformed under changing social conditions. This point will be taken up in Chapter 9.

The next chapter focusses on the gendered nature of social identity formation, with the goal of meeting another of the challenges to social identity theorists, *viz.* that of contextualising the process of identity formation within the context of a social hierarchy of unequal power relations. Focussing in particular on the power relations of gender within a black, working class community, it will be argued that identity plays an important role in the reproduction or transformation of social power relations.

8 THE GENDERED NATURE OF SOCIAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

8.1 Introduction

In this thesis three extensions of social identity theory are proposed. The first of these is the trialogue model of identity structuring (outlined and illustrated in Chapters 3, 5 and 6). The second of these is the account of the Debating Process of Identity Construction (Chapter 7). The topic of this chapter is the third extension of social identity theory: the role played by social identity in the reproduction and transformation of unequal power relationships. This topic is addressed in the interests of meeting two of the challenges to social identity theorists outlined in Section 2.4. The first of these challenges is that of taking account of power relations in giving an account of identity formation. The second is that of providing a dynamic account of identity, *viz.* one which accounts for the way in which identity construction is implicated in changing social relationships. This project is concerned with power relations of gender (within one particular race and class configuration). *While power* relations of race and class are beyond the scope of the current project, it is suggested that social identity theory might be an equally useful tool for investigating race and class relations, as well as the articulation of power relations of race, class and gender.

Chapter 6 has already documented a range of gendered differences in the social identity of youth. This chapter extends Chapter 6's account of the gendered nature of identity. Here it will be argued that the process of social identity formation is structured in such a way that social identity tends to contribute to the reproduction of existing gender relations. Social identity formation is structured in such a way that male dominance is preserved. Under changing social conditions the process of social identity construction does offer individuals in subordinate social groupings, in this case women, the possibility of constructing new and more empowering identities, and contributing to the possibility of the transformation of patriarchal social relations. On the whole however, the behavioural options that group memberships present to males and females differ, as do criteria for perceived adaptative success, so as to preserve existing relations of male dominance in social relationships.

Section 2.4 has already highlighted the importance of distinguishing between:

(i) the group memberships of RACE, CLASS and GENDER, and
(ii) reference to race, class and gender as the over-arching organising principles of social relations, the ideological constructs through which all individual group memberships are filtered.

When individuals consciously refer to themselves as black or as women or men, these references constitute group memberships. As cited in Section 1.1, this thesis adopts Turner's definition of a social group as "two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves, or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category" (Turner, 1982, p. 15). As is evident in Chapter 6, the self-categorisations of BLACK and GENDER were group memberships referred to by informants in giving an account of their social identities in the subjective sense outlined by Turner.

It must be emphasised however that in the lower case use of these terms throughout this chapter, 'race', 'class' and 'gender' are not regarded as subjective group memberships. Instead they are regarded as the organising principles of all social relations, the ideological 'filters' of all individual experience and behaviour. Thus race, class and gender form overarching 'umbrella categories' through which all group memberships are *mediated. In the process of identity construction* the process whereby youth adopt, reject or refashion group memberships is constrained by the parameters of these three overarching ideological categories.

Morris (1987) emphasises that individuals are not necessarily consciously aware of the nature of the organising principles underlying their subjective experience.

> "People do not always comprehend with clarity the social forces structuring their social lives, behaviour and consciousness. If they did, we would have no need for a theory of ideology, for ideology and the process by which individual consciousness is ideologically structured would have no place in social reality. ..." (Morris, 1987, p. 9)

In Morris's terms, the categories of race, class and gender have the status of social forces that "people do not always comprehend with clarity".

Thus with regard to gender, informants refer to the subjective group membership of GENDER relatively infrequently (compared to categories such as the FAMILY or COMRADES for example). However gender emerges as a key organising principle of informants' experience in the process of interview analysis. Comparison of the 'identity talk' of men and women reveals: (i) important differences in the way in which women

and men interpret group memberships, (ii) gendered differences in perceptions of what counts as perceived adaptative success (particularly in relation to the criteria of respectability and personal/community empowerment), and (iii) systematic differences in the range of behavioural possibilities and constraints referred to by women and men.

Yet again it must be emphasised that while it is possible to isolate gender from race and class for analytic purposes, in the 'real world' these three sets of power relations are inextricably intertwined. The informants in the present research all belong to one race and class group (viz. working class black people), so that this project's findings on gender are restricted to the particular race and class group from which the informants are drawn. In Section 9.2, the interaction of race, class and gender in social identity is highlighted as an important (and extremely difficult) area for future research[41].

Before proceeding with this chapter's focus on gender, a few brief comments are made about the role of power relations of race in youth identity. While racial identity is not a focus of this thesis, Chapter 7 has portrayed township youth in the process of rejecting and refashioning many of the group memberships and associated recipes for living that their parents' generation had considered adaptative for working class black people. In some respects the sub-text of the processes outlined in Chapter 7 could arguably represent the process of negotiation by youth of what it means to be a black South African, although this claim will not be developed in this thesis. An important area of future research for social psychologists would be to examine the way in which changing social circumstances made it possible for youth to fight for the redefinition of those behavioural possibilities and constraints available to black South Africans that developed during the decades of Grand Apartheid.

In the past two decades, youth have taken their place at the forefront of the struggle for social change in South Africa. A social psychological perspective would usefully complement the insights of economists, political scientists, historians and sociologists regarding the processes whereby youth were drawn into the struggle. It is suggested that an important dimension of the youth's struggle has involved the fight to redefine the group memberships available to black South Africans in a more empowering way. The role played by identity in the maintenance or challenging of racism was emphasised by Steve Biko (1978) in arguing for the key role that the Black Consciousness Movement should play in bringing about social change in South Africa (although Biko did not frame his work in social identity theory jargon).

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41 The author is currently involved in a research project that focusses on the interaction of these three power relations in the social identity of industrial workers in Natal.

Turning now to the main business of this chapter, namely the gendered nature of social identity, the thesis data suggest that the process of debate in the formation of identity takes place within a set of ideologically determined constraints and possibilities on the behaviour of women. The construction of social identity is infused with assumptions about gender-appropriate behaviour that serve to uphold the two pillars of patriarchy, namely that:

a) men tend to dominate women in interpersonal relationships; and
b) men tend to have privileged access to social power and wealth.

In this thesis a commitment has been expressed to the avoidance of an over-socialised view of individuals passively accepting the possibilities and constraints that society makes available to them. Individuals respond to existing social conditions in varying degrees of submission or resistance (see Chapter 2). Individuals are not simply 'the blinded bearers' of a received 'ideological traditions', but engage in debate and argument with these ideological traditions (see Section 7.1). Along these lines, in Section 8.4 evidence for womens' resistance to male dominance will be examined, as well as the indications that educational and economic opportunities are opening spaces for the exercise of greater power by women. It will be concluded however that on the whole existing group memberships still serve to present women with a restricting range of options that limit their access to power relative to men.

In Section 8.2 Figures 6.1 to 6.7 will be referred to. These figures summarise gendered differences in the proportion of responses devoted to each adaptative challenge and the proportion of responses associated with each group membership. In Section 8.3 a case study of the COMRADES will be provided, illustrating the way in which this group membership serves to promote the involvement of men and discourage the involvement of women in grassroots political activities. This section serves as a case study of the role of a particular group membership in preserving a particular system of power relations.

Despite the fact that many group memberships tended to promote the submission of young women to their subordinate social status, detailed examination of the data suggested a more complex picture. There was some evidence of subtle challenges to male dominance. In short, the data provided evidence for the twin processes of (more overt) submission and of (more covert) resistance to male domination by women. In

Section 8.4 some of the contradictions that have opened up in the social identity of women will be discussed. These contradictions point to the possibility of women beginning to redefine themselves in a more empowering way.

8.2 Gendered differences in group memberships and challenge clusters.

What were the most frequently cited group memberships in girls' accounts of their social identity? Gendered differences in the proportion of responses associated with each group are summarised on Figure 6.7 and in Section 6.21, so these are briefly reviewed here. The three groups most often cited by women were the FAMILY, followed by LOVERS, followed by the EDUCATED. Chapter 6 has outlined numerous examples of how the FAMILY and LOVERS presented different recipes for living to men and women. These recipes tended to restrict women and promote their subservience to men in a number of ways. Not only the FAMILY and LOVERS groups presented men and women with different behavioural options. Virtually every group membership presented boys and girls with a different range of behavioural possibilities and constraints. The most notable exception to this rule was the EDUCATED grouping, which offered women the greatest potential for exercising control over their lives. This point will be discussed in some detail in section 8.4. It will also be suggested that while the FAMILY is almost always patriarchy's closest ally in many respects, there are hints of ambiguity in some options the FAMILY makes available to women. It will be suggested that these ambiguities contain some potential for resistance to male domination.

Apart from FAMILY and LOVERS the two other groups that featured significantly more in female than male responses were the CHURCH and GENDER. According to the account that young women gave of CHURCH membership, this grouping was overwhelmingly supportive of patriarchy ("We must obey men because they are great. The Bible tells us that we should listen to them." F13). The group membership of GENDER was also most frequently cited in relation to modest, virtuous and family-centred options for women, and the imperative that she obey her parents and her spouse/lover, although section 8.4 will suggest that there was also evidence of interesting ambiguities in the options associated with GENDER.

The three group memberships cited by boys in order of frequency were MISCELLANEOUS, followed by the FAMILY, followed by the COMRADES. Both

COMRADES and MISCELLANEOUS were associated with significantly more male than female response. The MISCELLANEOUS group was composed of a range of peer groups including DRINKERS, PHANTSULA'S, SPORTS CLUBS, and GAMBLERS. These groups gave young men the opportunity for a wide range of extra-familial social contacts, taking them out of the home and family circle frequented by young women in pursuit of independent interests and leisure activities. COMRADES membership also tended to restrict women, discouraging their involvement in political activities (see Section 8.3). The FAMILY offered men greater possibilities for controlling their own lives than it did women. It also offered men the possibility of dominating women. Men often referred to patriarchal family relations in connection with traditional African customs such as the custom of *lobola*, the bride-price paid by a man to his wife's family on marriage. (Most African families respect the tradition of *lobola*, and it is only very recently that black feminists have begun to question this tradition.)

> "Women are more committed to their families. A woman is always at home. (And a man?) A man is sometimes at work. (But women work sometimes too.) Even in the afternoon when such a woman comes home there will be a change. (?) When a mother is home there is a change. Firstly she will see if the house is clean, then she will check that the food is cooking. She will check on everything in the house rather than father, who comes home, takes the paper, sits on the sofa and reads it. (Why do mothers have this commitment rather than fathers?) Because father is going to shout at mother. Mother must make sure that everything in the house is OK before father comes and complains about everything. (What gives father the right to do this? Why is he not cooking and cleaning?) (M7 burst out laughing in response to this question) It's because father pays for mother, *lobola* is the reason." (M7)

In summary, the two groups most frequently cited by women (FAMILY and LOVERS) were usually associated with options promoting their submission to men. The three groups most frequently cited by men (COMRADES, MISCELLANEOUS and the FAMILY) were associated with the relative freedom accorded to males, as well as the possibilities for dominating women.

The gender-specific nature of youth identity is also evident if one looks at Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3. Women devoted significantly more attention to the CODE OF CONDUCT challenges of FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT and SEXUAL CONDUCT, to the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE challenge of FAMILY LIFE and to the NETWORKING challenges of EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, HAVING FUN and CHOOSING LOVERS. Apart from EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE and FAMILY LIFE (see Section 8.4), each of these challenges was associated with a range of restrictions on women.

A significantly greater proportion of male responses were devoted to the CODE OF CONDUCT categories of CRIME and POLITICAL CONFLICT, the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE categories of COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT and EDUCATION, and the NETWORKING categories of MATERIAL SUPPORT and POLITICAL IDENTITY. Compared to girls, whose concerns lay in the private domain (e.g. family, love affairs) boys' concerns usually fell in the public sphere, beyond the confines of home and family. Public affairs relating to politics, community conflict and crime were considered the male domain, and boys showed greater interest and understanding of community and political problems and affairs. *(See Section 6.21)*

8.3 Case study: gendered nature of COMRADES membership

In Section 7.3, the discussion of the motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment deals with the way in which COMRADES membership gives youth a sense of empowerment and mastery over their world. It is suggested in this section that these possibilities for mastery and empowerment are gendered in nature, being more easily accessible to men than women. This section serves as a case study of the role of a particular group membership in the preservation of a particular system of patriarchal power relations. In social identity terms, the recipes for living associated with the group membership of COMRADES have developed in such a way as to encourage the participation of men and to discourage the participation of women in grassroots political activities.

Although the COMRADES have developed many of their behavioural options under the influence of the ideals of liberation movements such as the MDM/ANC, many of these options have been interpreted in the light of a particular gender agenda, which has resulted in the 'masculinisation' of this group membership. The comrades have adopted a range of restrictions on women that originate in the FAMILY, and are perpetuated by the LOVERS grouping. Such restrictions are implicit in the behavioural options available to daughters, sisters, and wives/girlfriends for example. The COMRADES' commitment to gender hierarchies appears somewhat ironic in the face of their commitment to a democratisation of social relationships, involving the elimination of unequal power relationships between black and white, rich and poor, and old and young. It also contradicts the ANC's avowed commitment to the elimination of gender discrimination.

This section focusses mainly on the three challenges where COMRADES membership was the most dominant influence, viz. the CODE OF CONDUCT challenges of CRIME and POLITICAL CONFLICT and the NETWORKING challenge of POLITICAL IDENTITY. Men devoted more interview responses to all three of these challenges (see Figures 6.1 and 6.3), and the range of options cited by men was broader than those of women in all three cases (see Sections 6.1, 6.2 and 6.18). In short, men showed greater interest and involvement in political activities, and almost always cited the COMRADES as the group membership associated with this interest and involvement.

The three main activities associated with COMRADES membership have been outlined as violent confrontation with political enemies, the operation of the Peoples' Courts, and attendance at political meetings, with all three being defined by both men and women as a male preserve. Turning first to the issue of violent confrontation with political enemies, in the period since 1985 (which saw the development of the COMRADES grouping), township life has been characterised by "the politics of confrontation" (Seekings, 1991) involving violent interaction between conflicting groups. This violent confrontation has been dominated by men (Kentridge 1990).

Violence and masculinity are closely intertwined in the macho culture of resistance. Male comrades defined the political terrain in terms of danger, conflict and violence, all of which were demarcated as a male preserve:

> "Women are ashamed to hit someone or to kill them. When someone has been murdered women feel ashamed to see the body. Whereas men have no shame in these matters - and will just go to that place to look straight down at the corpse ... *Girls don't feel ashamed of being attacked* by Inkatha. And there are no girls who do the attacking, only men. And we go out as men to meet these men. We are men. How can we tolerate being attacked by men? Boys have got the desire not to be shamed in this way." (M19)

The comrades characterised themselves as hard, ruthless, disciplined, with no time to rest and no time for pleasure and living under the constant threat of death. They were prepared to sacrifice their very lives for the struggle if need be. References to the political struggle were often articulated in highly militaristic terms.

> "I want to be Mandela's soldier and fight with those people who are oppressed against the oppressors and the exploiters." (M11)

The necessity for complete lack of fear in the violence of the political arena was emphasised by a 20-year-old comrade who spoke of his recent brush with death when he had been ambushed by two Inkatha rivals (who had attacked him with long-bladed

knives as he crossed a river). He spoke of his detailed plans for revenge - he would kill each of his attackers, no matter what the risk.

> "I would like to die when I am old, but now as I have devoted myself to the struggle I know that one day I will be killed by the bullet of the Boer or by their puppets. This means that I will die young. I have devoted myself to being a comrade, so there is no need to be afraid. I am not afraid of anything." (M10)

In the interviews, violence was characterised as the prototypical male activity both in terms of male personality traits, and in terms of their physical prowess. Several respondents referred to the uncontrollable tempers of men, portraying violence as deeply etched into the male psyche.

> "Fighting happens when you are provoked into a state where you can no longer help yourself, and you end up fighting spontaneously and instinctively. Afterwards you might realise that you should not have done it - but at the time you could not help it with your anger and your provocation." (M1)

The Peoples' Courts were cited as an important channel available to youth for playing an active role in community upliftment and empowerment, through the fight against high levels of crime. As Section 6.1 pointed out however, the disciplinary hearings of these courts were seen chiefly as the province of men.

> "Most of the things that are done by the comrades are done by young men - things like punishing offenders in the community." (M8)

> "Such things in the township are done by boys. Girls just usually follow them. (What do you mean by this?) For example if the boys are following after someone who has been stealing, the girls will follow the boys and throw stones, but the boys will lead the procession. (Why is this?) This is because girls are afraid, and boys are bold. (What causes this difference?) This difference is just in the nature of boys and girls. (Is this because boys are given greater freedom by their families to be out and about?) No boys are not given greater freedom - they are not allowed to do such things by their families - but they just do them. (Why don't girls do them too?) Because girls have that feeling that certain things are not nice things to do - compared to boys who just don't care." (F11)

Attendance at political meetings was clearly defined by respondents as the province of men. In his review of the involvement of women in political organisation in the 1980's, Seekings (1991) comments that student and youth organisations have been male dominated in terms of both leadership and rank and file membership. In the interviews this situation was justified in terms of the alleged unsuitability of women for political involvement and leadership.

> "In fact its mostly boys that go to meetings, and not girls. I do not go to meetings ... because it would take me away from home." (F15)

> "I don't know what my girlfriend would say about my political activities - we never discuss these things." (M8)

It is suggested that in their avowed goal of building a more democratic society, the COMRADES have harnessed some of the most reactionary aspects of gender ideology, embodied in the social grouping of the FAMILY, LOVERS and GENDER. These serve to entrench male domination, and serve as a major obstacle to the development of more democratic gender relations.

A number of reasons were offered for the exclusion of women from political activities. The first of these was the belief that women should take sole responsibility for domestic work (see Section 6.5) and that this demand should take precedence over all others.

> "There are far more boys at the meetings than girls. Boys are not afraid to make things happen, also they don't have the job of cooking and cleaning." (M19)

The second reason related to restrictions on the freedom of movement of young women.

> "According to the African way of life, there is a common belief that if a lady attends a meeting it is not a good thing for her or her family. She gets the reputation of being a woman who goes after men. Also it is very embarrassing for any family to have a woman out and about from dawn to dusk trying to solve the problems of the community." (M13)

These restrictions on women's movements have already been dealt with at some length both in Section 6.4 and Section 7.3. Home-centredness and restricted movement were important criteria for respectability of young women. Furthermore the necessity for limiting the freedom of movement of sisters and girlfriends was related to the dangers of infidelity and the possibility that a young woman might fall pregnant without knowing for certain who the father of the child was.

Apart from the demands of home life and the restrictions on womens' freedom of movement, it was suggested that women were temperamentally unsuited to the demands of political leadership and participation. Young men spoke of women as silly, over-emotional, shallow and unreliable in times of crisis, all cited as personality characteristics that rendered them unsuitable for political activities.

> "I would argue that men can lead us better than women. The reason for this is that I have seen in various meetings that when women talk, and then get 'corrected' by sensitive questions they tend to be frustrated and answer angrily and feel is it a personal attack. Men on the other hand handle such questions with laughter, and come out with a convincing answer." (M16)

M18 was a deeply committed comrade, who spoke with energy and fervour of his dedication to the fight for more democratic social relations. However his commitment to democracy did not extend to the area of gender.

> "It is difficult for women to lead serious issues like the struggle. In times of crisis, the boys who are leaders deal easily with the police. If a woman was in charge in such a situation she might panic and get us all into trouble." (M18)
>
> "I would never tell my girlfriend about things internal to the struggle and my involvement in political action. She might reveal these things to others and get me into trouble." (M18)
>
> "Township women are much more preoccupied with township life than with the struggle ... luxuries such as dancing, visiting the Workshop (a city centre shopping complex) and so on. Wherever there is dancing and drinking there are more girls than boys. On tough days at meetings they are not there because they are scared that the police will chase them." (M18)

Women also lacked the physical fitness and strength necessary to deal with rigorous demands of COMRADES membership.

> "Boys are strong ... (and) they can stand more difficult situations than girls. A recent example is the SASTS strike. There was one comrade who was jailed and a group went to demand his release. And that group was composed of boys. Only boys went because they knew that if the situation turned out to be bad, they could easily run away - compared to women who could never do that. Women can't stand difficult situations. Its not that they are scared - they just lack the physical strength." (F3)
>
> "Most of the comrades are boys and there are less girls. (?) The girls are scared. (What are they scared of?) When it is time to run they cannot run. (?) Well, what I know is that girls have not got the strength to run." (M1)

M10, another deeply committed comrade, who was prepared to lose his life if necessary in the fight for democratic social relationships stated explicitly that women and men should not have equal rights.

> "Men and women are not equal. There would be lots of problems if women and men were to have 50-50 rights. Just think for example it might happen that she has my baby, and then has a second baby with my friend. Then the children would have different surnames. This would not be a good thing at all ..." (M10)

In short, in the development of those behavioural options appropriate to comradeship, the COMRADES have drawn heavily on those gendered recipes for living first taught in the FAMILY, and reinforced by LOVERS regarding appropriate behaviour for

young women as sisters/daughters and girlfriends. Ironically, despite their commitment to fighting for democratic relationships of race, class and age, the COMRADES grouping displays undemocratic and patriarchal attitudes to women, with their restrictions on women simply extending those restrictions placed on women by the FAMILY and LOVERS.

8.4 Challenges to the patriarchal status quo?

Sections 8.2 and 8.3 have focussed on the gendered nature of youth identity, highlighting the role played by groups such as the FAMILY, LOVERS and COMRADES in promoting male power and control over young women. Leonard (1984) suggests that in order to understand an unequal system of power relationships one should look not only at factors promoting the submission of subordinate social groups (e.g. women, black people) to the domination of superordinate groups, but also at those factors that serve to challenge or resist this domination. It is these factors that are implicated in the process of social change. Murray (1981) comments that in tracing the changes in any set of social relationships over time, there will be evidence for a "conservation-dissolution contradiction" (p. 112). He suggests that there are inevitable tensions in any society between pressures in favour of conserving the current social relationships, and those forces in favour of their dissolution. Walker (1991) makes a similar point in relation to the position of women in South Africa.

> "The dialectic between female resistance to and acquiescence to their subordination is central for an understanding of gender relations in South Africa." (Walker, 1991, p. 29)

In Walker's terms, the previous sections of this chapter have focussed on the way in which the group memberships and options available to women serve to promote their 'acquiescence to their subordination'. This section turns to examine how some women challenge and resist their unequal social position in a number of covert and overt ways.

It will be suggested that there was no evidence for what western feminists would call a 'revolutionary consciousness' amongst the women interviewed. There was however evidence for the fact that although women were 'humouring' men, and certainly seldom challenging them directly, some of them were quietly and subtly empowering themselves in a range of indirect ways, albeit within a powerful set of limitations.

Section 7.3.1 points to many of the 'covert' ways in which young women have organised their lives in such a way as to 'keep up appearances' of obeying their

parents, when in fact they are doing as they please. This section also points to the contradictions between certain girls' overt and rhetorical assertions of commitment to the traditional female virtues of unconditional obedience to parents and lovers, or abstinence from sex and alcohol, and their covert subversion of these restrictions. Examples of contradictions of this nature abounded in the interviews. The most confident and extrovert woman in the sample, a vivacious person, strikingly dressed and made-up, with an irrepressibly bubbling and infectious sense of humour, answered one of the early questions in the interview ("What kind of person are you?"), by describing herself as a "shy, quiet person" (F14). She described herself in terms of the old-fashioned image of demure womanhood, but resisted this image in every aspect of her behaviour and demeanour. Evidence of this nature suggested that some women paid lip service to the more old-fashioned and clichèd recipes for living as they quietly carved out more empowering life possibilities.

Many women paid lip service to an image of a young woman as dominated by adults and men. Buried within their accounts of their identities however, were numerous indications that some young women were in the process of constructing a set of more empowering possibilities than one would have assumed had one taken their accounts of their social identity at face value. The group membership of the FAMILY was the group membership most commonly associated with the responses of young women, significantly more than the responses of young men. In overt terms, the influence of the FAMILY serves unambiguously and overwhelmingly to restrict young women, and to prepare them to take their place in the patriarchal gender hierarchy.

> "I know that husbands beat their wives, sleep out and refuse to give them grocery money. But my parents have advised me that a wife should be tolerant of her husband, and bear all these problems patiently." (F20)
>
> "Husbands tend to beat their wives and scold them ... I have seen this myself. (?) I see them, men beat their wives in public, especially if they have not covered their heads." (F17)
>
> "I know how to discipline women from watching husbands beat their wives for gossiping." (M11)

The influence of the family however is more complex than a superficial glance at the data would suggest. The FAMILY encourages and supports girls and boys equally in their quest for education with membership of the EDUCATED grouping presenting young women with the strongest possibility of independence from men. Growing numbers of young black women are grasping the possibilities for empowerment that education offers. More black South African women reach high school than their male counterparts (Appendix A.1).

Like the FAMILY, the influence of GENDER was also more complex. On the CODE OF CONDUCT challenges, the recipes for living associated with the category of GENDER were generally consistent with FAMILY and LOVERS, geared towards virtue, obedience and home-centredness, limited freedom of movement, and subservience to men. However in relation to the FUTURE: CAREER PLANS challenge, the GENDER category was associated with a more empowering set of behavioural options. Here the GENDER options were more consistent with EDUCATED grouping's recipes for living.

> "My role model is my aunt's daughter N. (?) She is working ... as a clerk. (What do you admire about N?) She is working and can manage herself. She has her own place to live. She supports her daughter herself. She does not worry people - but lives her own life." (F1)

> "My hero is Leigh Downing (Founder of a well-known Durban modelling school). (?) She is a woman. (?) She is not married, about 28 years old, and has got everything which a woman could need. An expensive car, money, altogether she is a clever person ... Most people say you can't do these things without a man, but she can manage to do all these things ..." (F14)

It must be borne in mind however that despite this idealised representation of an educated and upwardly mobile young woman, young people faced massive obstacles in their quest for education. Section 7.11 suggests that in many cases informants lack the necessary life skills, the money and the educational opportunities for fulfilment of their career plans. However, the possibility of a young woman becoming educated and economically independent was certainly a more substantial one than it had been when informants' mothers had been teenagers, a fact that young women were conscious of and about which they felt optimistic.

> "All you (as a woman) needed in those days was to learn how to write your name. After mother had learned that, her father took her out of school to work at home." (F5)

Not only did the possibility of 'professional' careers offer young women the chance of raising themselves and their families of origin to a higher standard of living, it also offered the possibility of reshaping relationships with men.

> "Many say that husbands are a problem because they want things to be done their way, and they are abusive, and a wife is forced to consider a man's moods. So these days many women prefer to be just with themselves, not being somebody who is just part of the house. This has changed with education. In the old days women did not go to school - now they do this. In the old days a man was

> household head. Everything you had to ask from him, you had to go down on your knees if you wanted something. These days you are working and independent, with your own salary, and you can just buy what you want yourself ... I myself would prefer to have a husband, but if he is troublesome he can just go." (F3)

Of the 15 women who referred to the option of marriage, eight were in favour of this option, three were more cautious and four had decided not to marry. Marriage, as an option, was associated not only with the EDUCATED grouping, but also by the FAMILY grouping. Overtly, the FAMILY appeared to influence women to look forward to the fairly stereotyped picture of marriage to a dominant husband, a house and children. On the other hand, the lived reality of informants often contradicted this picture. Twenty-one of the informants lived in female-headed families[42]. Campbell (1990) comments on the crucial role played by older women in sustaining township family life:

> "It is mothers that are the pivot of family life. As a result of the absence or withdrawal of fathers in families, mothers carry most of the family burdens ... It is mothers who take the major responsibility for managing the scarce resources available to most working class families ... that form the emotional nexus of the family ... who coordinate family decision-making ..." (p5-6)

In some ways their concrete experience of their own family lives, and the powerful role played by their mothers in the FAMILY, would serve to contradict the stereotypical 'subservient wife and mother' recipes for living that these very mothers in the FAMILY might seek to teach them. Even in those families that did have fathers, mothers often shouldered the main burden of family responsibilities:

> "To me mother is the head of this family though father is against her ideas of taking the initiative, but she is forced to take it because father sometimes does not come home. That has caused us to report everything to her, the person with whom we always stay." (M15)

Three women expressed their intention to marry, but immediately distanced themselves from the stereotype of the dependent wife.

> "Some girls say that you must get married so that you can have someone to help you in your life. I don't agree with that. It's only if you are half-minded that you need another mind to make your mind full." (F14)

Four women were firmly opposed to marriage. F18 summarised the views of these respondents:

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42 These were generally families where fathers had either died (average life expectancy for African men is short, see Section 4.3, footnote 12) or left the family.

> "I have seen young women in my neighbourhood who were once fat and happy. After marriage they are no longer like this. They become thin and troubled." (F18)

These four women had clearly thought about this issue in some depth, and offered more detailed justifications for their views than did the eight pro-marriage subjects (who appeared not to have thought very deeply on the matter). Men were seen as constraints on a woman's independence.

> "I want to enjoy my life." (F17)
>
> "A woman has a better life alone with her children." (F1)
>
> "Husbands try and stop you from looking for work." (F6)

They commented that marriage brought few benefits. Husbands beat their wives and scolded them, often refused to give them adequate grocery money, often neglected their families and slept away on weekends. These women believed they would be better off remaining at *home with their mothers*, or setting up homes on their own with their children.

> "I am unlikely to find a good man to marry." (F1)
>
> "I don't want to be a doormat like my mother was." (F17)

In short, the overwhelming burden of evidence suggested that a wide range of group memberships such as the FAMILY, the CHURCH, LOVERS, DECENT CITIZEN, FRIENDS and COMRADES presented women with recipes for living that restricted their freedom of movement, their involvement in political and community activities and their power in relation to men in sexual and family relationships. There was however also evidence that some young women were crafting new and more empowering female identities, based on possibilities offered by the FAMILY (both in its encouragement of girls' education, and in the powerful role models provided by their mothers), and through the growing range of possibilities offered to women by the GENDER group and the EDUCATED group.

Having pointed to some ways in which women are challenging their subordinate social position, some qualifications follow. Ramphele (1989) points to the dangers of leaping from observations of the scant and scattered evidence for womens' challenges to patriarchy to the glorification of the implications of these scattered challenges, without taking full account of the obstacles that face women in their task of forging a more powerful social identity.

> "It is important to move away from the romanticism that tends to dominate the literature ... which paints women as heroines, without due regard of the cost of these struggles to them as individuals and as a group." (Ramphele, 1989, p27)

This tendency is particularly common in South Africa at present, where, in the euphoria accompanying the prospect of a new social order, certain feminists speak as if the country is on the verge of a new era for working class women.

> "The driving forces for womens' emancipation ... are the black women, led by African working class women, the triply oppressed and most exploited South Africans." (Clara, 1989)

The African National Congress has committed itself to a programme of "affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes", calling on women to take the lead in this process:

> "Women must take the lead in creating a non-sexist South Africa - they must move the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement to adopt policies and forms of organisation that facilitate the particpation of women in the struggle that still lies before us." (ANC's 'May 2 document', 1990)

Discussing the possibilities for the development of a "feminist politics" in South Africa, Hassim (1991. p. 65) comments that a successful womens' movement would be one that was able to develop a mass base of grassroots working class membership, rather than one which remained limited to a few intellectuals. This would be a movement propelled by what she refers to as *"indigenous feminism" (p. 68).*

A precondition for collective action by a subordinate social group (e.g. working class black women) is a "collective consciousness" of their disadvantaged status (Leonard, 1984, p. 209), or a "recognition of their common plight" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p. 16). It is only on the basis of this consciousness or recognition that such a group would begin to mobilise for social change. The interview data suggest that the evidence for challenges by young women to their superordinate social status are scattered and fragmentary. The raw materials for the development of a 'revolutionary consciousness' that might propel young women to take up the struggle against male domination are as yet rudimentary.

It has been suggested that the EDUCATED group offers young women the possibility of independence. While this may be the case, the number of young people that manages to overcome the obstacles facing black scholars is small. Out of 100 African pupils that started school in the mid-80's (this would include the age group under focus in the

present study), about 50 would have completed primary school, ten would reach Std 10 (the final year of high school), and one would pass the school-leaving matriculation examination at the end of Std 10[43]. Many structural obstacles stand in the way of women achieving the possibilities offered by membership of the EDUCATED group. Furthermore it must be remembered that even those fortunate women who do succeed in finishing school, and perhaps even some sort of tertiary training, enter a job market where women of all races and classes are paid on average 60 percent of the salaries of men to do similar work, so that even the most privileged group of women enter a job market where they are structurally disadvantaged.

The growing number of female-headed families has also been cited as a potentially empowering trend for women (Preston-Whyte and Zondi, 1989). It cannot be denied that these mothers provided role models of independent women for their daughters. Female family heads however are doubly disadvantaged. Apart from economic discrimination in the workplace, there is also gender discrimination in the family. Despite the reality that mothers are having to play an increasingly central role in family leadership, they are still regarded as second class citizens in a community where patriarchal ideals dominate Campbell (1989). One example of this is the fact that mothers are often not accorded the respect and authority necessary to discipline their teenage sons. Section 7.2 has suggested that in some female-headed families sons 'run wild' without the stern hand of a traditionally feared father figure to keep them in check.

> "Mother failed to discipline us teenage boys on her own. Boys need a father to discipline them. If father had lived with us there would have been a difference. *There were many times that we took no notice of mother, unlike the notice we* would have taken of a father." (M7)

This situation was somewhat different for girls, who in fatherless families were disciplined by their older brothers.

Preston-Whyte and Zondi (1989, p. 23) also point to the growing number of unmarried teenage mothers as evidence of young women "taking control of their own reproduction" untrammelled by the constraints of traditional patriarchal family structures. They suggest this strategy enables female-headed families to reproduce

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43 Our sample was considerably more successful than the 1 in 100 matriculation success rate cited by Hyslop (1988-9). F19, M12 and M19 had already passed their matriculation examinations, and some of the informants who were still at school appeared to be promising students (particularly M13, M14, F12, F13 and F15). Hyslop's figures would include rural South Africans as well as urban ones, and as Appendix A.1 points out, the standard of schooling in Umlazi township is much higher than in rural KwaZulu. In other words, educationally, the current sample of township youth is relatively privileged if one compares them to a sample including rural youth.

themselves despite changing social relations that no longer ensure that men are an intrinsic part of family constellations.

Campbell (1989) disputes this view, arguing that rather than strengthen the female-headed family unit, this situation serves to undermine the future prospects of the young mothers, often putting an end to their education, and permanently impairing their employment prospects. The chances of their being able independently to set up a comfortable home for themselves and their families is undermined.

> "... the high rate of teenage pregnancies (amongst working class unmarried township women) serves to disempower these young women at a time when male dominance is more threatened than ever before in the history of African social relations. This phenomenon represents the structural forces of patriarchy reasserting themselves at a time when the economic and social status of adult men is diminishing." (Campbell, 1989, p69)

The questioning of the traditional notion of marriage by several young women was cited above as an example of women challenging male domination. Husbands were often described as violent, unfaithful, tyrannical and unreliable with regard to material support. However while three young women did refer to the possibility of refashioning marital relations (e.g. "... *if he is troublesome he can just go*" *F3*), *the majority of* respondents who referred to the foibles of husbands as undesirable, but unchangeable aspects of marriage, responding in one of two ways. The first response was to decide to avoid marriage altogether.

> "Many of my friends are choosing not to marry. They want to enjoy their lives. In marriage there are too many rules. Husbands tend to beat their wives and scold them." (F17)

The second response was to say they would choose to get married, and that the way to deal with men and their foibles was to be "patient" and "tolerant" (F20).

> "Of course I don't like it when my boyfriend beats me. However there is no point in leaving him. I might just find somebody worse." (F2)

Notions of the power of men to behave as they pleased in relationships were so entrenched that avoidance or tolerance were often the only two means for dealing with men. The possibility of redefining gender relations within marriage was mentioned only by three young women.

While there was some evidence for challenges to patriarchal gender roles by young women, and the possibility of alternative and possibly more empowering gendered recipes for living developing, particularly in relation to the group memberships of the

FAMILY, EDUCATED and GENDER, two qualifications need to be borne in mind. Firstly evidence for these possibilities was not abundant. Secondly, where it did exist, alternative recipes for living did not always constitute a direct challenge to men's power but rather a 'sidestepping' of the issue by avoiding uncongenial relationships with men. The new option often involved managing without men rather than changing them.

The sparseness of evidence for challenges by women to male domination supports Walker's (1991) comments on the deep-rootedness of discrimination against women in southern Africa.

> "The remarkable durability of male power over women in the face of far-reaching social, political and economic change is a sobering reminder of how deeply rooted it is, not simply in South African society in the abstract, but in the way in which men and women have been and are constituted as social actors." (p. 31)

Although there is evidence of women subverting restrictions on them in a range of ways these do not appear to present any large-scale or fundamental challenge to male power.

Post-script to Section 8.4

At this stage it must be emphasised that the population represented by the sample in this study (viz: youth aged between 17 and 23 years old) is not generally representative of adult women in the working class township community. In many societies, youth in the age group of 17 to 23 have not yet fully separated themselves from the care and protection of their families, and thus have not yet really had to deal with the sobering experience of facing the burdens and responsibilities of life without the support of their families of origin to cushion them. In some ways this is less true of township youth than might be true in a more stable and affluent society. From an early age this generation of township youth have been faced with high levels of poverty and political disruption, and have played a key role in political resistance, for example. Nevertheless, no matter how great their life experience might be compared to teenagers and young adults in a less chaotic social environment, by comparison with other working class African women they have still had relatively little experience of life or of that suffering which would serve to provide women with raw materials for a feminist consciousness. For this reason it would be unwise to generalise from the present sample of youth to African women in general, particularly when commenting on the presence or absence of 'revolutionary consciousness' in women. Perhaps the most important

consciousness-raising experiences for women happen later than early adulthood. At most, the material presented here might point to the lack of any kind of feminist consciousness in the social identity of women in their late teens and early 20's.

8.5 Crisis in masculinity?

So far this chapter has focussed on the twin processes whereby social identity perpetuates the domination of women by men on the one hand, yet provides space for the challenging of that domination on the other hand. The previous section concluded that the fragmentary and scattered evidence for challenges to male domination was outweighed by evidence for women's submission to it. The interview data provide abundant evidence of the way in which gendered recipes for living serve as obstacles to the development of an indigenous feminism, which would be based on womens' common recognition of their plight as a dominated grouping, and which would provide the basis for collective action to resist their position of social disadvantage.

Discussing the obstacles to greater involvement by women in both women's liberation organisations, as well as trade unions and community organisations and political groups on the other, Campbell (1990) suggests that two kinds of obstacles stand in the way of those seeking to organise women in the political arena: one of these is women's unwillingness to see themselves as powerful social agents, and the other is men's unwillingness to take women seriously. This section focusses on the latter obstacle to women's empowerment: male resistance. It will be argued that given men's current situation, one where they are disempowered in both race and class terms, their socially sanctioned power over women is often the only arena in which working class black men are able to assert themselves. This 'crisis' in masculinity on the race and class front may increase men's unwillingness to relinquish their patriarchal power.

It has been suggested that the notion of a 'crisis' in masculinity implies that there is a natural imperative for men to be dominant, and that the use of the term 'crisis' implies that there has been some kind of disturbance of a natural order. Here it must be emphasised that this project makes no such assumption. The starting point of this argument is that male power is socially constructed and maintained. As was stated in Chapter 2, this project adopts a "materialist" approach, taking as its starting point Leonard's (1984) claim that the social relations of a particular group of people cannot be understood independently of the socially and historically specific set of social relationships in which they are located. These power relations are the function of a set of material and ideological practices which vary from one society to another. These

practices combine to ensure that (a) men have privileged access to social wealth and power, and (b) that men dominate women in the majority of social relationships. The reader is referred to Therborn's claim that the belief that patriarchal social relations are natural, biological givens is itself one of the range of ideological constructs that serve to inculcate a sense of superordinacy in men and subordinacy in women (see Section 2.4).

Thus the starting point of this account of the 'crisis' in masculinity is that men are socialised into the expectation that as men they rightfully deserve access to wealth and power. They are socialised into believing that male power over women is natural and desirable. Campbell (1990) refers to the way in which township men appeal to both 'nature' and 'tradition' in claiming the right to dominate women, and warns that these claims disguise the socially constructed nature of male oppression by implying that male superordinacy and female subordinacy are a natural and unchangeable fact of life.

> "What is referred to as 'tradition' ... may often be a recreated image of the past used by those in power (e.g. men) to give legitimacy to particular forms of social control (e.g. the domination of women) ... Appeals to 'nature' are simply one more way of maintaining a repressive ideology, and women should learn to regard them with suspicion. Those biological differences that DO exist between men and women are not grounds for the oppression of women. Many of these appeals are nothing more than inaccurate social constructions used by an oppressing group to maintain their power." (Campbell, 1990, p. 19)

One of the goals of this chapter has been to begin point to some of the ways in which the group memberships and behavioural options available to township youth prepare both men and women for their socially constructed place on the social hierarchy. Against this background, references to a 'crisis in masculinity' should be interpreted as threats to what men have been socialised to believe is their right to social power.

Having made the important qualification, the chapter now proceeds with its claim that there is currently 'crisis in working class African masculinity'. As several historians (e.g. Beinart 1982, 1991; Guy 1987) have pointed out, a crisis in African masculinity is a long-established feature. Campbell (1991) argues that in the past 10 or 15 years in South Africa the crisis has become particularly acute. The way in which this undermining of masculinity is experienced by men is mediated by age. Drawing on a township research project which included interviews with older married men from working class families (Campbell, 1989), she argues that apartheid and capitalism have limited the power of working class men in the wider community. For men who were dominated both in race and class terms, their socially sanctioned power over women and young men in the family was often the only arena in which they were able to

exercise any dominance. In the more recent past however, male power in the family has been severely threatened on two fronts. On what she refers to as the "material front", older men were "traditionally" the guardians of wealth and resources both within the family and the wider community. For working class families, although the myth of male economic dominance still holds strong currency, unemployment and low wages have been such a marked feature of the lives of many men that fathers are often not even able to provide for the most basic needs of family members. On the "decision making front", older men also "traditionally" played a key role in community decision-making. With the growing role of youth in shaping community opinion, fathers are no longer automatically the dominant parties in community affairs. The result of these processes is that men feel alienated and displaced in their families as well as their communities. Campbell (1991) suggests that older fathers use a variety of compensatory mechanisms in the face of this undermining of masculinity. These include domestic violence, the devoting of time, energy and precious family finances to other women, and heavy drinking (with drinking being a prototypical male activity).

What of the position of the younger men in the current research sample? In certain ways the experience of these men is different. The process of setting up families by young people, and the way in which young people go about the business of reproduction, is changing in a number of respects. There is a growing number of teenage pregnancies, where the new babies are taken in as part of their maternal grandparents' households (see Section 6.17), with young father playing little role in their upkeep and upbringing. Some women are choosing not to marry. For young men the prospect of their future incorporation into their own families as husbands and fathers is not a foregone conclusion.

Better educated and more highly politicised than their parents, young men enter adulthood with a more demanding set of expectations of the world. One such expectation is that having reached higher levels of education than their parents their job prospects will be better. Faced with chronic levels of youth unemployment (see Appendix A.1) many young men are dealt a bitter blow when they enter the job market.

> "I used to go to factories and find more than 200 people waiting at the gate for work ... eventually people like us lose interest. We see there are so many people like us not working and that it seems impossible to get a job." (M10)

It is difficult for an unemployed young man to marry. Few young women would be prepared to take their chances of marriage to a man who could not support his family.

> "Why would I go out with an unemployed boy? An unemployed boy can't help you with anything since he does not have money." (F6)
>
> "Ladies tend not to choose a boyfriend who has got no money. They do not like someone who is a pedestrian, without a car to drive around in." (M7)

Marriage was also difficult for an unemployed man because he would struggle to raise money for lobola.

On the other hand, young women still have the socially sanctioned FAMILY roles of mother, housekeeper and childminder on which to fall back when their other expectations crumble. Young women were unanimous in their view that teenage pregnancy was something to be avoided, since it seriously hindered a young woman in her quest for a 'bright future'. However with the wide range of social obstacles standing in the way of school success, and a 'professional' career, pregnancy and motherhood do serve to present many young women with a clearly defined and socially acceptable role in a deprived community which provides young people with sparse raw materials for the construction of an identity. Babies also serve to provide some young women with a socially accepted justification for not having succeeded at school, when in fact their lack of success may have been due to a range of other disabling factors facing them. Furthermore, even those young women who do not have babies of their own will always find useful and socially sanctioned occupation with household chores, and care of other children in the household, if their educational and career goals crumble.

These options are not available to young men, given the gendered construction of their group memberships. Such young men, denied access to the the group memberships of EDUCATED and WORKER (in a community where the prototypes of success are linked to these two groups), and possibly also to the FAMILY possibilities of father and husband, often expressed frustration and bitterness about their lots.

> "I am the kind of person who plans what I do although I generally end up failing to achieve these plans. Its a constant pain to be unemployed and not schooling at the same time, to see myself as a young active person, willing to do anything, but having no chance of getting work. ... Where I live unemployed boys are humiliated ... they command no status in the communities. Even youngsters as young as four or five years old - if you try to send them to the shop or ask them for help they say no - because there is nothing they can hope to expect from an unemployed person. It erodes you not even demanding respect from a young child." (M20)

How do young men cope with the sense of disempowerment that accompanies being a working class black South African, the frustrating slowness of political change in the

face of their high political expectations, their inability to find work and the breakdown of traditional family roles? Leonard (1984) comments that the family, the workplace and the school are the three major determinants of individual identity and goal formation. What happens to those young men who are denied access to the cultural prototypes for success, who do not have access to school or the workplace, in a community where male family roles are in disarray?

Several group memberships offered young men behavioural possibilities for a reassertion of their manhood in the face of these uncertainties. It is suggested that their socially sanctioned power over women is a successful arena for young men to assert their masculinity and exercise a sense of control in a social disadvantaged life world that offered them few opportunities for a sense of mastery. Chapters 6 and 7 contain numerous references to the way in which a variety of group memberships (e.g. LOVERS and the FAMILY) present young men with the possibility of controlling their girlfriends and policing their sisters. Their ability to control women is an integral part of the identity of young township men.

This ability to control women is a defining characteristic of the PHANTSULA group. This group has been described in terms of its its tough, aggressive image and members' rough, tough approach to their girlfriends in Section 6.20, were M15 was quoted as saying:

> "A Phantsula will beat his girlfriend very severely if she misbehaves. Phantsula girls are generally very well disciplined. They know that they should not put a foot wrong." (M15)

Two other MISCELLANEOUS groups, those of DRINKERS and GAMBLERS also provided young men with opportunities for asserting their masculinity. These groups' behavioural options associated with danger, alcohol and violence were structured around the prototypical male activities of fighting and drinking, and were generally characterised by the exclusion of 'respectable' women.

Another channel for the empowerment of young men is the COMRADES group. Membership of the COMRADES group was a significant factor in providing young men with a sense of mastery and control over their lives in a world characterised by lack of opportunities for advancement, political uncertainty and poverty. Section 7.3 has already looked at the way in which this group membership has served to masculinise the grassroots arena in such a way that the possibilities for empowerment offered by this group are far more accessible to young men than to young women.

This section has pointed to the ironic situation where in their avowed goal of building a more democratic society, the comrades have harnessed some of the most reactionary aspects of gender ideology embodied in the group memberships of the FAMILY and LOVERS. These aspects serve the interests of the entrenchment of male domination, and stand as a major obstacle to the development of more democratic gender relations. This tendency, in the very COMRADES group from which the ANC draws some of its mass support, stands as an important obstacle in the way of the organisation's commitment to sexism, and also to the development of an 'indigenous feminism'.

8.6 Concluding comments

How does this chapter take the thesis forward in terms of its theoretical goals? In this section it is suggested that this chapter's account of the gendered nature of identity construction addresses two of the challenges to social identity theorists outlined in Section 2.4. The first challenge it addresses is that of exploring the relationship between identity and power. The second challenge it addresses is that of developing a dynamic notion of identity.

In Section 2.4, one of the shortcomings of mainstream social identity theory was identified as a tendency to focus on the intra-individual and inter-individual levels of analysis, at the expense of the societal level of analysis. In particular it was suggested that an important focus for a more socially sensitive social identity theory would include an examination of the way in which social identity contributed to the perpetuation of a society based on a set of unequal power relations (of race, class and gender). Against this background, the goal of Chapter 8 has been to locate the social identity of township youth against the background of a set of patriarchal power relations. What role does identity construction play in ensuring youth's acceptance of or resistance to a set of socially constructed power relations where men have power over women?

In reply to this question, the section has highlighted the fact that group memberships often present a different set of recipes for living to men and women. These recipes for living often serve to allow men far greater independence as well as greater freedom of movement and association than women; promote male involvement in community and political issues, but exclude women; and promote control of women by men in family and sexual relationships. In this sense, social identity plays an important role in the promotion and maintenance of patriarchal social relationships.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that certain group memberships offer women the possibility for challenging restrictive and dominating practices, and that in the space provided by changing social circumstances women are beginning to refashion their recipes for living in a more empowering way. However at present these buds of resistance by women to male domination are still scattered, fragmentary and indirect in nature, with as yet no evidence that they are becoming a direct or concerted challenge to male authority. Furthermore it is suggested that there is a currently a 'crisis in masculinity' amongst working class black men. In the face of race and class disadvantage, their socially sanctioned power over women is one of the few arenas in which men are able to exercise dominance. The ability to dominate women is an important element of male identity. Such effects of the social and historical context on the identity of working class black men could serve as obstacles to the women's struggle in South Africa in the future.

Another challenge to social identity theorists identified in Section 2.4 was that of developing a dynamic notion of identity, one which located the process of identity construction within the context of changing social relationships. Chapter 7 has looked at the construction and reconstruction of the recipes for living associated with one group membership (the FAMILY) in the light of changing social conditions. In Chapter 8, it is suggested that gender is one of the organising principles underlying all group memberships. In forming and transforming group memberships and their associated recipes for living, youth serve either to reproduce or transform patriarchal power relations.

The task of understanding the transformation of social power relationships involves attention to both of the following factors:

(i) the mechanisms producing change, and

(ii) the obstacles that stand in the way of change.

An expanded social identity theory provides a useful starting point for investigating both these dimensions of change. It serves as a potential starting point for the task of unravelling the debating process of identity formation where youth negotiate the behavioural options available to them in the light of changing social demands and do so in varying degrees of submission or resistance. Society presents women with a range of possible identities, involving differing degrees of control over their lives, and the life of the community. Some women simply adopt the stereotypical gendered identity by default. Others engage in debate with it, counterposing the possibilities offered by education, economic independence, by female-headed families and so on. There are

however still many obstacles in the way of womens' empowerment. One of the goals of this chapter has been to point to some of the ways in which group memberships available to youth are structured in such a way as to hinder the development of a 'revolutionary consciousness' amongst young women.

In Chapter 8 this thesis's third and final extension of social identity theory has been outlined. In Chapter 9 the thesis is concluded with a comprehensive summary of its achievements in the light of the four challenges facing social identity theorists.

9 EVALUATION: THEORETICAL, METHODOLOGICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

9.1 Introduction

In the light of current pressures on social psychologists in South Africa to participate in political debates concerning social change, and the limited ability of mainstream social psychology to provide useful and adequate tools for such debates, the current thesis has extended social identity theory in order to *take account of the social context of identity* formation. The study is based on extensive, open-ended interviews with young people in a South African township. The extension of social identity theory put forward here gives an account of the role of identity in the adaptative strategies developed by youth in dealing with the challenges that face them in a rapidly changing society.

The author started by calling for a return to the original goals of social psychology as outlined by Tajfel (see Chapter 2), and was led to operationalise social identity theory in terms of a method which was appropriate for conceptualising the identity of real people in the real world and for collecting data which reflect the reality of social life and the interplay between the individual and society. This in turn enabled the author to extend social identity theory to account for (i) the structuring and (ii) the process of identity formation of township youth, and (iii) the role played by social identity in the reproduction or transformation of unequal social relations.

In Section 9.2 some limitations of the data-gathering techniques, interview analysis and interpretation will be highlighted, with suggestions as to how some of the criticisms could be addressed in developments of this work. The remainder of the chapter summarises the achievements of this thesis, in the interests of summarising the way in which it has tried to meet the four challenges facing social identity theorists that were outlined in Section 2.4. In Section 9.3, a method for the operationalisation of SIT/SCT outside of the laboratory is outlined. The three-pronged extension of social identity identity theory that has been developed using this method is discussed in Section 9.4.

9.2 Limitations and ways forward

This section briefly reviews some of the limitations of this study and suggests some of the ways the current research could be carried forward. Limitations in the interview procedure (See Section 4.7) and the analysis of the data (See Section 5.3) have already been discussed at length.

Briefly, limitations in the interview procedure included a possible social desirability effect in answers, a possible underrepresentation of responses relating to political conflict, possible accusations of geographical and political bias, the excessive length of the interviews and language, race and class differences between the researcher and the informants. Notwithstanding these limitations, and given that no research project is ever complete, the interview procedure was felt to be successful, and appears to have generated a valid account of the social identity of the informants. The interviews were conducted in a relaxed and congenial atmosphere, and it is believed that informants felt free to speak openly and honestly about their lives. The majority of the informants said that the interviews had been a positive and enjoyable experience, and that they had felt able to speak freely.

One important development of the current work concerns the possibility of eliciting feedback from informants in the form of subsequent discussion of the research findings. Discussion of the results of data analysis and data interpretation with the research informants that contributed to the empirical phase of a study provides the researcher with access to a pool of additional data to draw on in furthering the understanding of the research topic in question. This possibility was precluded by one of the conditions outlined in the negotiation of the interview procedure with each informant (See Section 4.5). In the preamble to the interviews guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity were given, and without these many informants would have been unwilling to participate in the study. This guarantee of confidentiality precluded the possibility of reporting the findings back either to individuals or groups of research respondents, since many of them were known to each other, and were aware of which members of their community had participated in the study. However the author intends to investigate the possibility of presenting the findings to discussion groups of working class township youth who are not personally acquainted with the informants (with groups composed of women only, men only, and mixed gender groups). Transcripts of these discussions could form a useful additional data base for potential extensions of this work into the practical political arena.

Possible criticisms concerning an over-emphasis on ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE at the expense of GROUP MEMBERSHIP in the analysis of the data have been discussed (Section 5.3). The primary focus on the category of ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGE was judged to be the most promising one for extending the theory to incorporate attention to the individual-society interaction in the process of identity formation. It has been suggested however that a more detailed account of the relationship between behavioural options, directions of choices and group memberships would provide a useful data-base for a more in-depth investigation of the way in which group memberships provide people with options that serve to reproduce or challenge existing power relations (of race, class or gender).

Every attempt was made to ensure that the analysis and interpretation of data was consistent with the theoretical assumptions and procedures outlined in Chapters 2-5. While a researcher starting from a different set of assumptions about social psychology, social identity and the individual-society relationship might have reached different conclusions in analysing and interpreting the data, it is felt that the analysis and interpretation contained in this thesis were consistent with the particular theory and method that were used.

Another extension of the current research could involve an investigation of the contradictions and inconsistencies in individuals' accounts of their identity. These were not pursued in the interviews, partly because the interviewers tried to give informants every possible opportunity to provide an uninterrupted account of their identities in their own terms, and partly because many such inconsistencies were only picked up in the more detailed process of data analysis, after the interviews had been completed. In many cases contradictions and inconsistencies in individuals' accounts might be the result of the situation-specific nature of social identity and thus be quite reconcilable in nature and unproblematic for the individual. However it is suggested that in some cases contradictions in identity may not be easily reconcilable. Inconsistencies were particularly evident in relation to informants' accounts of the role of women in township society. To give one small example, several informants named their mothers as their heroes, holding them up as models of strength and courage in the role they had played in family leadership. On the other hand behavioural options referred to by the very same informants were based on the premise that women were weak, silly or frivolous. One possible outcome of such an inconsistency could be the reinvention or reshaping one's social identity in a way that pointed towards a reconciliation of the inconsistencies. A more detailed study of this inventing or reshaping process would throw important light on the role played by social identity in the process of social change at the ideological level of analysis.

This study has highlighted the interaction between the cognitive structuring and processes of the debating individual as active participant on the one hand, and the social context on the other hand. Besides the cognitive structuring and processes used by the debating individual, and the individual's social context, there is a third element that affects social identity, namely differences among individuals. The aim of the project was has been to interpret individuals' accounts of their identity in an attempt to filter out common themes from these individual accounts. The focus has not been on individual differences in the social identity of different subjects. In a social context that provided youth with limited opportunities there was evidence that certain individuals were far more resourceful than others in seeking these out. An interesting area for future research would be to compare the social identities of individuals that showed greater or lesser degrees of resilience in the face of social disadvantages.

As has been stated several times, this project has chosen to focus only on power relations of gender, and not on power relations of race and class. The author is currently involved in the planning of a project that will focus on the relationship between ethnicity, class and gender in the social identity of a group of Zulu-speaking workers in Natal. One of her aims in this planned research is to investigate the potential of the conceptualisation of identity developed in this thesis for understanding ethnic and class relations in addition to those of gender. Furthermore this planned research will involve the task of beginning to examine the complex interaction of race, class and gender identity, a task not undertaken in this thesis.

9.3 A method for operationalising social identity theory

A critical review of existing social identity theory (see Chapter 2) yielded four theoretical challenges to social psychologists interested in developing a social identity theory that did not exclude the social: (i) to move out of the laboratory and into the real world; (ii) to take account of the articulation of the individual and societal levels of analysis in the process of social identity construction; (iii) to examine the role played by social identity in the reproduction or transformation of social power relations; and (iv) to provide a dynamic account of identity construction that locates this process within the context of changing social relations.

In terms of the project's substantive goal of investigating the process of social identity formation by township youth, with particular reference to gender identity, the first

challenge was easily met. Using existing ideas drawn from the social identity tradition, concerning the process and structure of social identity, and in particular SCT's link between self-categorisations and action, a semi-structured, open-ended interview schedule was drawn up. In order to extend the theory beyond a focus on the cognitive aspects of identity process and structure, the schedule was designed to focus on the content of youth identity. It is the content of identity that is socially and historically specific, and it was hoped that paying attention to content would lead the researcher towards the individual-society interface, providing the possibility of investigating the articulation of the cognitive and the social in identity construction.

Twenty young women and twenty young men were interviewed. The informants were free to spend as much or as little time as they wished on the various topics that emerged as the open-ended interviews proceeded. Any topic raised by informants was regarded as relevant, and no attempt was made to shape the information gathered in the light of the interviewers' preconceived notions about youth identity. The interviews lasted for up to eight hours. The length of the interviews, and the encouragement given to informants to speak freely on topics of interest to them as and when they arose, made this study substantially different from other mainstream social identity studies. In such studies contact with research subjects is usually governed by the need to gather information relating to a pre-defined and limited area of interest, generally with the goal of proving or disproving hypotheses developed before making contact with informants. The length and open-ended nature of the interviews is considered one of the major strengths of the present study. If social psychology is to produce knowledge that will help to understand people as they act and behave in the real world, rather than generating elegant accounts of the way people behave in laboratories, or in narrowly conceptualised 'inter-group' interactions, it is essential that research is conducted outside of the limiting and artificial constraints of the 'laboratory' or experimental study.

The second challenge facing psychologists is to pay attention to the interaction between the cognitive individual and his/her social setting in the process of identity formation. Having gathered a large amount of data regarding the content of the social identity of township youth, in the form of information regarding the particular groups that influenced them, as well the range of behavioural options associated with group memberships, the next task was to develop a method for data analysis. It was not enough simply to identify and link group memberships and actions. To develop an account of identity that did not simply reduce 'society' to 'group memberships'

(explained at the intra- and inter-individual level of analysis), it was necessary to explore the action-group relationship against the background of the particular social conditions of rapidly changing township society. The point made by social identity theorists, but never developed to any significant extent, that social identity is situation-specific was therefore taken as the starting point. The self consists of a range of self-categorisations or group memberships and associated options, which become salient in specific situations. The behavioural options chosen by individuals in particular situations must in some way be related to the social context. The task was to develop a method of analysis that took account of this context.

A careful examination of the data suggested that this requirement could be satisfied by regarding the behavioural choices made by informants as responses to challenges or problems posed by their social and material world. The notion was developed of social identity as an adaptative resource for tackling the social or material challenges of daily existence. Once this notion of social identity as an adaptative resource had been developed, a coding frame was constructed that would make it possible to associate behavioural options and group memberships with a series of societal demands or ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES facing township youth. Using this coding frame, the data were analysed with a view to identifying the relationships between ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES, GROUP MEMBERSHIPS and BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS in the process of identity formation by young women and young men. This 'trialogue model of identity construction', together with the project's account of the Debating Process of Identity Construction, points to the way in which the individual's identity is constructed in interaction with social demands, and opens up the possibility of examining the way in which identity interacts with the ever-changing social context in both the structuring and process of identity formation.

With this conceptualisation of identity as an adaptative resource, 'society' becomes involved in the process of social identity formation in at least three ways. Firstly, society continually presents the individual with challenges, problems and demands to be met in the course of day to day life. Secondly, society provides the individual with a repertoire of possible identities to choose from in order to meet these challenges. In other words, society provides individuals with the challenge of constructing an identity, as well as the range of raw materials from which to construct an identity.

Society is also implicated in a third way in this project's account of social identity formation. Society presents individuals with these life challenges, and the raw materials for meeting them, through the filter of an hierarchical set of power relations.

Groupings at different positions in the social power hierarchy (in terms of this project's focus, men and women) are faced with a systematically differing sets of behavioural options, according to their subordinate or superordinate status on the social power hierarchy. This makes it possible to deal with the third challenge to social identity theorists, namely to examine the role played by social identity in the reproduction or transformation of social power relations. Within Leonard's (1984) framework, coded data about adaptative challenges, group memberships and behavioural options were located against the background of a set of patriarchal power relations. In this project evidence has been sought for gendered differences in the social identity of township men and women, and these differences have been contextualised in terms of their role in sustaining or challenging a patriarchal social system (see Chapter 8).

The concept of identity as an adaptative resource, and the associated three-fold role of society in the process of social identity formation outlined above are amongst the most important aspects of this research. The extension of social identity theory developed in this thesis begins to address the charge of 'social amnesia' that may be levelled at much of the work done in the mainstream social identity tradition (see Chapter 2) by giving an account of social identity that incorporates the role played by social context in the process of identity construction. Moreover this account of identity points to the possibility of generating knowledge that contributes to the task of understanding the psychological mechanisms that perpetuate unequal power relations, and the obstacles that hinder the transformation of such power relations, at the ideological level of analysis.

To what extent has the project met the fourth challenge to social identity theorists, namely to provide a dynamic account of identity? In Section 2.4 a 'dynamic' account is characterised as one which locates the process of identity formation within a changing society, accounting for the way in which identity is formed and transformed within changing social conditions.

It is suggested that this thesis provides a dynamic account of identity in two respects. Firstly it points to the way in which youth may either adopt, reject or refashion existing group memberships and recipes for living in the light of the changing social context, which may present them with adaptative challenges for which existing tried and tested recipes for living are no longer the most appropriate coping mechanisms. One of the features of a society in unusually rapid transition is the fact that the recipes for living associated with the old order are not likely to be appropriate for dealing with the challenges of the emerging one. Rapidly changing societies (such as those

characterising South African townships in the late 80's/early 90's) will present their members with new adaptative challenges, and the potential for the development of new recipes for living. Chapter 7 has illustrated this point with particular reference to the group membership of the FAMILY. It has pointed to youth in the process of debating the appropriateness of many of their parents' recipes for living for meeting changing social demands, and where necessary refashioning these recipes, or else rejecting them in favour of recipes provided by competing social groupings.

The second way in which this project's conceptualisation of identity is dynamic lies in its attention to the role played by identity in the transformation of power relations. Chapter 8 has illustrated this point with particular reference to power relations of gender. This chapter highlighted the dialectic of submission and resistance to patriarchal social relations in youth identity. While on the whole identity tended to perpetuate male power over women, there was important evidence for ways in which, under changing social conditions, women challenge their second class status, and refashion their identities in more empowering ways. In highlighting this process, the chapter points to the role played by identity in the gradual transformation of social power relations.

In this section the method used in this research has been evaluated with the goal of pointing to the ways in which it takes up the four challenges to social identity theory outlined in Chapter 2. In the following section the extended model of social identity theory that was developed using this method is discussed.

9.4 A three-pronged extension of social identity theory

The previous section has focussed on the theoretical and methodological goals of the thesis, namely the identification of the key theoretical shortcomings of mainstream social identity theory, and on the this project's operationalisation of the theory in an attempt to overcome these. In this section this project's three-pronged extension of the theory is summarised. The account of the social identity of township youth presented in this project consists of (i) an account of the structuring of social identity in terms of a trialogue of adaptative challenges, group memberships and behavioural options (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6), and (ii) an account of the Debating Process of Identity Construction (see Chapter 7), and (iii) an account of the gendered nature of social identity (see Chapter 8). Each of these three dimensions are now considered in turn.

9.4.1 The Trialogue Model of Identity Structuring

Mainstream SCT describes the structure of social identity in terms of a loose association of group memberships, each associated in turn with a range of behaviours, and each becoming salient under particular circumstances. In this project SCT's conceptualisation of the structure of social identity is extended so as to include not only GROUP MEMBERSHIPS and their associated BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS, but also specific features of the social context that are implicated in the process of social identity formation, in the form of ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES. The structure of social identity is conceptualised in terms a trialogue among GROUP MEMBERSHIPS, BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS and ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES. This extension of SCT's account of the structure of social identity to include ADAPTATIVE CHALLENGES makes it possible to integrate the previously neglected dimension of the social back into the heart of social identity theory. At a theoretical level the trialogue model provides a means of conceptualising identity in a way that takes full account of its irreducibly social nature. At the empirical level it provides a concrete research tool with which to operationalise the often abstract and elusive notion of 'social context'.

Applying the group-option-challenge trialogue model of the structure of social identity to the empirical data yielded an account of social identity construction by young people in response to 20 adaptative challenges, defined as the day-to-day demands made on youth by their socially and historically specific social conditions. These challenges were grouped into three clusters. The CODE OF CONDUCT cluster was associated with constructing a code of conduct in response to the following challenges: CRIME, POLITICAL CONFLICT, INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT, SEXUAL CONDUCT and ALCOHOL. The PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE cluster included the following challenges: COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT, EDUCATION, FAMILY LIFE and CAREER PLANS. The NETWORKING cluster involved the development of a social network in connection with the following aspects of life: EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, HAVING FUN, BROADENING HORIZONS, GUIDANCE, MATERIAL SUPORT, POLITICAL IDENTITY, CHOOSING LOVERS and CHOOSING FRIENDS. Each adaptative challenge was associated with a range of typical behavioural options, and a range of group memberships. The eleven group memberships most frequently associated with these challenges were: BLACK, CHURCH, DECENT CITIZEN, EDUCATED, FAMILY,

GENDER, FRIENDS, LOVERS, COMRADES, URBAN and YOUNGER GENERATION. A MISCELLANEOUS category was also used in data analysis to include those group memberships (e.g. PHANTSULAS, DRINKERS, INFORMAL BUSINESS-PERSON) which were mentioned too infrequently to constitute separate categories. Within this framework the project generated a large amount of factual information about the social identity of township youth (See Chapter 6).

9.4.2 The Debating Process of Social Identity Construction

The second crucial extension of social identity theory relates to its account of the process of social identity formation. This account enables us to explain how youth decide which group membership's options to call on in which situations. SCT accounts for the salience of particular group memberships in particular contexts in terms of cognitive mechanisms governed by principles such as 'accessibility x fit' or 'metacontrast' (see Chapter 2). The individual is presented as a cognitive automaton, and the 'social context' is depicted as a static and ahistorical backdrop for the cognitive centre-stage. This project develops a more active notion of the individual, and theorises social context as an integral, dynamic and irreducible aspect of identity. It extends social identity theory's abstract and cognitive account of the salience of social groupings, stressing the dynamic interaction of the individual and society in the way in which these decisions are made in real-life social and historical contexts. It provides an explanation of the factors that determine the individual's choice of social identity, within a socially sensitive framework. The thesis gives an account of the Debating Process of Identity Construction in terms of the following three points:

Point 1: In the process of social identity construction the individual actively engages in a dialectical process of debate and negotiation, which involves continually weighing up the existing behavioural options provided by available group memberships in the light of the adaptative challenges posed by the social and material world.

Point 2: In this process of negotiation, individuals select those recipes for living and group memberships that have the highest perceived adaptative success. Perceived adaptative success is the motivational process underlying the choice of behavioural options and group memberships. It is in the light of their perceived adaptative success that existing recipes for living are adopted, refashioned or rejected.

Point 3: Criteria for what individuals regard as perceived adaptative success will vary from one social grouping to another. In weighing up what they regard as perceived

adaptative success, working class, black township youth are guided by their degree of commitment to, and their interpretation of, the following three socially negotiated criteria for adaptative success:

i) respectability
ii) self-improvement
iii) personal/community empowerment

In line with Billig's (1991, Billig et al. 1989) claim that all human thinking is argumentative, the process of social identity formation involves on-going internal debates and negotiations whereby individuals assess group memberships and behavioural options in terms of social challenges. In the process of formulating social identity, the active subject weighs up different behavioural possibilities before deciding on a course of action. This thesis extends Billig's claim by pointing to some of the mechanisms whereby the social context is implicated in this debating or negotiating process.

In his definition of social identity, Tajfel refers to the "emotional and value significance" of the group memberships that constitute the individual's social identity (Tajfel, 1972, p31). The process whereby membership of a social grouping influences an individual is indeed partly determined by the emotional and value significance of that group membership. Thus for example many youth expressed a willingness to be guided by their parents out of a sense of loyalty and duty to them, rather than out of the sense that their parents were wise or experienced in the ways of the modern world. However in addition to a group's emotional and value significance, the extent to which membership of a social group (in this case the family) influences peoples' social identity is related to their opinion of other group members. In the light of the evidence it appears that this opinion is partly determined by the degree of 'street credibility' or perceived adaptative success that other group members (such as parents) have in the eyes of the individual.

One of the central themes discussed in Chapter 7 is the question of the changing role of the FAMILY in the socialisation of youth, and the process whereby youth engaged in debates weigh up the FAMILY's recipes for living against those associated with competing group memberships (e.g. COMRADES, YOUNGER GENERATION). In particular behavioural options associated with the traditional FAMILY notion of 'respect' were the subject of heated debate by some informants.

Differentiating between 'emotional and value significance' and 'perceived adaptative success' might provide the basis for a definition of the notion of respect mentioned by

respondents in accounts of their identities. Almost every respondent cited family membership as one of their most valued group memberships (see Table 4.2), but family membership was not always their most influential group membership. Family membership will be salient in choosing recipes for living to the extent that youth perceive family recipes for living as successful adaptative strategies. It is the adaptative component of respect that is being questioned in families, and which accounts for doubts expressed by youth regarding their parents' recipes for living.

Points 2 and 3 contribute to the current debate in social identity theory concerning the motivational processes underlying the process of social identity formation. SIT theorists that people are motivated by the drive towards self-esteem. More recently, SCT theorists such as Hogg and Abrams (1990) have suggested that the motivational processes underlying social identity are more diverse and that self-esteem is probably only one of many motivational criteria, with other criteria including the drive towards cognitive coherence, or the tendency of the individual to search for meaning.

This study suggests perceived adaptative success rather than e.g. self-esteem or a search for cognitive coherence as the fundamental motivational criterion in the formation of social identity. In surveying the range of behavioural options presented to them by their available group memberships, youth choose those behavioural options that will ensure their survival under conditions where material resources are scarce and the individual has little or no access to political and social power. Individuals choose those behavioural options with the highest adaptative value.

In the discussion of Point 3 the emphasis placed by township youth on the criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment has been linked to a range of historically specific conditions of township life. Criteria for what counts as perceived adaptative success will vary from one social group to another (see Section 7.5). Thus in some social groupings the motivational criterion of self-esteem may be important. Pursuance of the need for self-esteem might be a luxury more easily afforded by middle class academics, for example, than by working class people living under conditions of poverty and social disruption.

9.4.3 The gendered nature of identity construction

The project's third extension of social identity theory points to the gendered nature of social identity construction. In this thesis (see Sections 2.4 and 8.1) a distinction has been made between:

i) 'GENDER' as a subjective group membership, and

ii) 'gender' as an ideological organising principle underlying all group memberships.

As opposed to studies such as Williams and Giles (1978), which focus on gender in the first sense outlined above, this project emphasises the important role played by gender in the second sense in the process of social identity construction.

In Chapter 6, both qualitative and quantitative data analysis point to gendered differences in social identity construction with regard to the behavioural options and group memberships drawn on by men and women in constructing their social identity in response to the adaptative challenges of the social and material world. Chapter 8 has highlighted the role played by identity in the process whereby the power of dominant social groupings (in this case men) is either:

i) perpetuated, in the sense that group-congruent behaviours that are consistent with the patriarchal status quo are simply reproduced; or,

ii) challenged, in the sense that the possibility exists for individuals in subordinate social groupings (in this case women) to construct new and more powerful identities under certain social conditions.

It is through the process of social identity construction that individuals submit to (and reproduce) or resist (and transform) existing unequal social relationships. They do this in the process of adopting, refashioning or reinventing behavioural options and group memberships.

Chapter 9 has summarised the achievements of this thesis in the light of the four challenges facing social identity theorists. It is concluded that the three-pronged extension of social identity theory presented here points to the possibility of a social identity theory that avoids charges of 'social amnesia'. This thesis provides an account of the way in which a more adequately 'social' social identity theory could be developed into a useful theoretical tool for understanding the social identity of youth under changing social conditions, and for beginning to understand some of the psychological mechanisms whereby unequal social relations are reproduced or transformed.

APPENDIX A.1: TOWNSHIPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The current research is concerned with the social identity of township youth, based on interviews conducted with youth from Umlazi township in 1989 and early 1990. This was a period of particularly rapid social change in the lives of township South Africans, immediately prior to the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and other anti-apartheid political organisations and the release of high profile political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela which took place in 1990. The period was characterised by an unprecedented increase in black political resistance, and the last-ditch attempts by the white government to uphold the Grand Apartheid Plan. It was also marked by the early phases of what has since developed into a full-scale civil war between the African National Congress and Inkatha. This appendix provides some brief historical comments regarding the historical and political context of township life during this period, with particular reference to Umlazi township.

Section A.1.1 looks at the rise of urban apartheid in South Africa in general. Section A.1.2 turns more specifically to the establishment of Umlazi township, the home of the research informants, and Section A.1.3 provides some facts and figures about the township, looking at factors such as population and infrastructure. Section A.1.4 and A.1.5 look at the collapse of the pillars of apartheid in South Africa, and at the role played by popular protest in this process, with A.1.6 turning to the role played by the youth in particular in popular resistance in the area of Natal (where Umlazi is located).

A.1.1 The rise of urban apartheid

In December 1919, a deputation of residents from Ndabeni, an African township in Cape Town, met the South African Minister of Native Affairs to protest against government plans to relocate them to another township. A spokesperson for the delegation told the minister that it appeared that Africans were not wanted in Cape Town:

> "(He said) that only their hands were needed at work, and that if some mysterious arrangement could be devised whereby only their hands could be daily brought to

> town for purposes of labour and their persons and faces not seen at all, that would perhaps suit their white masters better." (cited in Maylam, 1989, p. 1)

This unnamed spokesperson was touching on the central objective as well as the fundamental contradiction of urban segregation and later apartheid: "the attempt to secure labour power without labourers" (Maylam, 1989, p. 1), or the attempt to bring about the simultaneous inclusion and exclusion of black people from the cities.

The history of South Africa in the 20th century has seen the development of attempts by the central state to bring about an almost total social separation of blacks and whites. According to the 'grand apartheid plan'[1] social engineering would eventually ensure that black people lived in completely independent and self-governing homelands. The access of homeland citizens to the white-dominated cities would be severely limited - and determined solely by the need for black labour. Workers' families would stay in the homelands, and workers would send money to them, and visit them when they could.

Laws such as the pass system and influx control made it illegal for black people to be in towns or cities unless they were registered workers, and in possession of the necessary documents (informally referred to as 'passbooks') to prove this. Between 1916 and 1984 nearly eighteen million Africans were arrested or prosecuted under the pass laws and influx control regulations, and many millions more must have evaded arrest.

Reviewing what he refers to as "the rise and fall of urban apartheid" spanning the period of the 1920's to the 1980's, Maylam (1989) says there were two poles of thought regarding the best way to implement the urban apartheid scheme. At one extreme was the view put forward by the Stallard Commission of 1922: that the right of Africans to be in urban areas rested solely on their willingness "to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man" (Davenport, 1969). At the other extreme was the more liberal view that the stabilisation of an urban African population should be encouraged in preference to the continuation of the migrant labour system.

On the whole, the dominant official view was a pragmatic one that fell somewhere between these two poles. The government was increasingly forced to recognise the fact that as the so-called 'homelands' became more and more overcrowded and poverty-

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1 The 'grand plan of apartheid' must not be construed as existing fully-developed in the heads of Nationalist politicians the day they took over the reigns of power in 1948. The project took shape slowly. Verwoerd's plan to circumvent world wrath in the wake of the rapid decolonisation of the 60's by creating the bantustans took many of his colleagues, and the electorate by surprise.

stricken, growing numbers of black people were flooding into the urban areas despite the attempts of massive and draconian legislation to prevent this. For the governments of the day, the presence of a permanent urban black population was simply a reality that had to be accepted. Thus, while in principle every attempt should continue to be made to try and limit the number of urban blacks as much as possible, some provision would have to be made for permanent urban dwellers. However they should be housed in residential areas as far away from the white population as possible in their own 'group areas' referred to as 'townships', and the different 'race groups' should have as little contact as possible. Spatial separation was to be reinforced by buffer zones and by natural or other barriers. Furthermore townships were to be designed and sited in such as way that they could be cordoned off in the event of riot or rebellion.

A.1.2 The establishment of Umlazi township in Durban

Umlazi township, home of the informants in the present study, is situated about 17 kilometres south-west of the city of Durban in the east coast province of Natal between the Isipingo and Umlaas Rivers. Until the 1950's it had been an African farming area called the Umlazi Mission Reserve. In 1962 it was proclaimed a township. One of the main reasons for the establishment of Umlazi was to relocate the African squatter community that had developed at Umkhumbane (Cato Manor), an area close to the city centre, which had been declared a slum.

The vast majority of parents of youth in the 18-23 year age group at the time of the interviews (late 1989, early 1990) were born in rural areas, and came to the towns in their late teens to find work, either coming to Umlazi via Umkhumbane, or else coming directly to Umlazi township from the rural areas (Edwards, 1989). Thus the vast majority of youth are township born, as opposed to their parents who were rural born.

According to Blose (1987) Umlazi was the ideal geographical location for a township:

> "Umlazi perfectly suited the race zoning scheme drawn up in Durban under the Group Areas Act of 1950. By nature Umlazi is the natural segment of a circle and abutts directly onto an industrial area. African workers can get directly to their work in the industrial areas without traversing any area occupied by other races." (Blose, 1987)

Until 1979 Umlazi township was administered by the central state. Thereafter it was placed under the administrative control of KwaZulu. KwaZulu is one of the nine 'homelands' or 'bantustans' created by the government. In accordance with the grand

apartheid plan, four of these bantustans have been granted so-called 'independence'. KwaZulu was one of the bantustans that refused to accept Pretoria's attempt to cast it adrift. It refused to accept 'independence', choosing to remain part of South Africa. However, while it did not take on the status of an independent country (as did the Transkei and the Ciskei for example) it became what is referred to as a 'self-governing territory'. It set up government in Ulundi, administering certain functions such as education, policing, housing and health, but remaining part of the central administration of South Africa in other respects. The notorious KwaZulu Police Force will be discussed below in connection with its role in the political violence of the 80's and 90's. As a non-sovereign state, KwaZulu has no official international or diplomatic relationships, it cannot issue its own currency, its powers of taxation (and its tax base) are limited.

KwaZulu occupies 10 pieces of land scattered across 35 percent of the area of the Natal province, and is 36 000 square kilometres in extent. According to the 1985 census it had a population of 4,46 million people, and with an annual population growth rate if 4,9 percent its estimated population for the year 1991 was 5,52 million (Pennington, 1991). The KwaZulu homeland is predominantly a rural area, with only 24 percent of its population living in a number of urban townships that are administered by the territory, one of these being Umlazi.

A key feature of township life is the critical shortage of housing. Urbanisation of African people is happening much faster than formal housing can be provided. In 1988 it was estimated that 1.8 million people lived in shacks in the Durban area, a figure that is expected to double by 1993 (Pennington, *1991*). *Housing development is limited not* only by lack of available land, but also by limited housing affordability. *The* housing crisis will be referred to again below.

A.1.3 Umlazi: statistical profile

The following statistics are drawn from Pennington's township annuals. Estimates of the population of Umlazi vary, and range from 1 million (Pennington, 1989) to 400 000 (Pennington, 1991). The variations in Pennington's estimates are one example of the confused state of statistical information about South Africa. Census figures exemplify this confusion. South African census figures are notoriously unreliable for a number of reasons. Until the influx control and pass laws were scrapped in 1986, there were millions of illegal town dwellers who would have chosen not to reveal their presence to government officials. Particularly from the mid-80's as levels of political

protest, violence and repression increased, with townships often becoming war zones, as well as high levels of crime, many townships were too dangerous for census-gatherers to enter. The common method for estimating population (to multiply the number of houses by the average number of occupants) yielded an unrealistically small number because the large number of undeclared occupants in each house, as well as the large number of shack dwellers (not included in counts of formal housing) made a realistic estimate of the average number of occupants impossible.

According to Pennington (1991) there are 26 652 formal houses in Umlazi. Most of the housing in Umlazi consists of four-roomed council houses. Most of these are rented by the residents, but more recently some of these houses have been bought by residents and extended. A survey conducted by the town planner for the Umlazi region in 1989 concluded that 19 percent of the formal housing was in good condition, 50 percent in fair condition and 31 percent in poor condition (Pennington, 1991). Fifty percent of the houses have telephones, and 50 percent have television sets. Sixty-six percent of the houses have electricity. The main shortage of housing is in very low income bracket. It is estimated that there are 26 000 families in Umlazi who are in need of housing. The result is chronic overcrowding. It is not uncommon for up 20 people to live in a two-roomed house 25 to 30 square metres in size. Another result of this lack of housing is the development of a number of shack settlements surrounding Umlazi, and the number of backyard shacks in the township. Pennington (1991) estimates that there are 9 135 shacks in the township. However he qualifies this figure by stating that "it is impossible to give an exact figure because more shacks go up every day, and detailed shack counts are impossible to do" (p N53). The inhabitants of backyard shacks are often family members of the house owner, while the shack settlements consist primarily of newcomers from the rural areas, or refugees who have fled other areas in the wake of the large-scale violence that has devastated numbers of communities in the late 80's and early 90's.

In 1990, the following amenities existed for Umlazi residents: Sports stadiums 1; Soccer fields 9; Tennis courts 2; Basketball courts 1; Swimming pools 1; Public halls 3; Libraries 1; Post offices 2; Police stations 2; Cinemas 1; Night clubs 1; Food outlets 17; Hardware shops 2; Sports fields 11; Cycling stadium 1; Playgrounds 9 (Pennington, 1991, p N55).

There were 247 registered businesses in Umlazi (including 66 factories, 33 butcheries, 31 supermarkets, 26 general dealers and 18 bottlestores). Informal sector activities are extremely common, with many hawkers operating outside the four railway stations,

mainly from shack shops. Furthermore many residents run informal businesses (e.g. shabeens, hairdressing businesses, sale of food or herbal medicines) from their homes. Until 1990, informal businesses were illegal. This meant that the major source of livelihood for millions of people was criminalised, with operators of unlicenced businesses eligible for fines or jail sentences.

Education facilities in Umlazi are relatively good by KwaZulu standards. Thus, for example, while 80 percent of teachers in rural KwaZulu are unqualified (many not even having finished high school themselves), in Umlazi only 3 percent of the teachers are not qualified to teach. For KwaZulu as a whole, 70 percent of the population have not passed beyond the sixth year of schooling, and only 8 percent have reached between the tenth and twelfth (school-leaving year) levels. Education levels in Umlazi are probably higher than this (figures not available).

Education facilities are nevertheless inadequate for the population and most need to be upgraded and extended. However little land is available for this. Classrooms are overcrowded, poorly equipped, and many teachers are unqualified. Furthermore, political unrest has severely hampered education, with schools often closing for extended periods of time because it was unsafe for them to remain open. A further five secondary school sites and 13 primary school sites have been allocated, but nothing has been done about these yet (Pennington, 1991). There is one special school for the deaf, and one for mentally retarded children.

The following schools exist:
Creches 20 + 3 pre-schools
Primary schools 66 (number of pupils 45 000)
Secondary schools 22 (number of pupils 15 000)
Universities 1
Technikons 1
(Pennington, 1991, p N56).

The KwaZulu Government provides some limited health facilities (there are 3 hospitals, 7 clinics and 1 dental clinic in the township). However these facilities are clearly inadequate for half a million people, and many Umlazi residents use non-KwaZulu facilities in the city of Durban.

The Durban municipality is responsible for the provision of water and electricity in Umlazi because the KwaZulu government does not have adequate funds to provide

these services. All the streets in Umlazi are lit, and according to the township's statistical profile, 100 percent of the roads are tarred. However many of the roads are in extremely poor condition, a situation aggravated by heavy floods in the past few years.

The main employment area for Umlazi residents is Durban, 17 kilometres away, with the major sources of transport being suburban commuter trains, buses, and taxis (privately owned minibus's transporting 16 to 20 people at a time). Buses are slightly more expensive than taxis. However buses are safer, with taxis experiencing a tremendously high accident rate.[2]

The policy of siting townships as far as possible from the white areas and workplaces means that transport is a perennial problem for the impoverished township residents. Trapped between a state unable or unwilling to increase subsidies and transport operators unable and unwilling to absorb cost increases, commuters resist attempts to increase fares with any means at their disposal. The issue of transport and transport costs has been a major source of resistance by township residents, through organised bus boycotts on the one hand, and in a more spontaneous manner the informal stoning and burning of buses on the other hand. Many bus drivers have been killed, and bus drivers generally sit in protective metal 'cages', and often bus windows are covered with protective metal bars to prevent breakage.

A.1.4 Collapse of the pillars of apartheid

The aim of the grand apartheid blueprint had been to create politically and economically viable 'homelands', each characterised by a particular ethnic identity (e.g. Zulu-speaking people in KwaZulu, Xhosa-speaking people in the Transkei and Ciskei and so on). The official hope was that as the economies of the homelands developed, more and more Africans would move from white areas to their ethnically appropriate homeland, thereby reversing the direction of African migration to the white cities. In their own homeland Africans would be able to exercise political rights, and in so doing they would lose any claim to the franchise in greater South Africa.

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2 While some taxis are driven by their owners, many are driven by young men hired as drivers and extremely badly paid. Part of their job description appears to be to fill the taxis as full as possible, and to complete as many journeys as possible per day. This results in extremely fast driving. Furthermore many of the drivers are young men who have developed a 'taxi culture', where the stereotype of a taxi driver is someone who likes to play blaring popular music, has many girlfriends (whom he treats badly) and drives extremely fast and recklessly. This latter factor exacerbates the accident rate.

Maylam (1989) comments that in the South African state's terms the apartheid system functioned fairly coherently and efficiently until the early 1970's when cracks began to appear in apartheid's grand plan. He argues that each of the central pillars upon which the success of this system had operated were undermined in their own way, pointing towards the gradual collapse of the system throughout the 70's and 80's.

The first of these pillars of apartheid was the white government's control over the movement of Africans into urban areas. Although the government tried its best to bring this about through the pass laws and influx control, in 1986 it was forced to accept the reality and inevitability of African urban migration and abandon these measures, whose aim had been to stem the flow of 'surplus people' from the rural areas to the cities. The reality of the situation was that far from becoming economically viable, economic conditions in the 'homelands' deteriorated steadily. As survival in the 'homelands' became increasingly difficult, millions of rural people flooded into the towns in defiance of the pass laws and influx control, resulting in dramatic overcrowding of existing housing and the rapid growth of shack settlements. International pressure and pressure from capital must also have played some role in the government's decision to scrap the laws governing influx control, with capital arguing for example that the market mechanism should be left to determine the movement of labour, and the government no doubt hoping that an end to the pass laws might serve as a sop to some of the increasingly awkward and inconvenient anti-apartheid clamour of the international community. Furthermore, the machinery of pass control was becoming increasingly costly to operate during times of fiscal constraint. The massive growth of shack settlements is a further symptom of weakening state control. It has been projected that by the year 2000 there will be three million people living in shack settlements in the greater Durban area alone. The white government's loss of control of the black housing situation was yet another nail in the coffin of urban apartheid.

The second pillar of apartheid was the apparatus of segregation and control of black South Africans. One of the key strategic functions of segregating black people in townships outlying the 'white' cities was to site them in such a way that unrest and rebellion could be contained within them. Another was to make them easily accessible to police and troops. The fact that there has been minimal spill-over of violence outside segregated black areas suggests that these objectives have largely been realised. However, from the mid-80's, the ability of the white government to exercise control over urban Africans declined rapidly. This coincides with the insurrectionary phase of the struggle against apartheid. A central tactic of this phase was the attempt to render the townships ungovernable. In 1985, a state of emergency was declared to deal with

In this spirit of so-called 'reform', the South African government negotiated the signing of a 'peace accord' with the radical black Mocambiquan leader Samora Machel, and the Nationalist government claimed to be triumphing in the implementation of its apartheid policies.

Between 1984 and 1986, the townships were the scene of intense conflict between the government and its extra-parliamentary opponents. In townships throughout the country, civic, student and youth groups, most of them affiliated either to the UDF or to black consciousness organisations, sought to mobilise residents against the official local government system and in support of other demands. In several townships at the height of township rebellion, the state lost complete control of black areas. Much of the local government system collapsed and groups opposed to the system set up alternative structures to represent residents, and in some cases to administer parts of the township. 'Liberated zones' were created, where local administrative power was taken over by street committees (Mashabela, 1988). Although state control was later regained, this was done by force rather than administrative means.

The conflict rarely moved out of the townships, but as it posed a clear threat to the government's control of urban areas, steps were soon taken to defuse the situation. Between 1984 and August 1988, an estimated 51 000 people were detained (Cock, 1990) using the infamous indefinite detention without trial provisions of the Internal Security Act, or the State of Emergency regulations. In a sample of 175 ex-detainees, Foster et al. (1987) found that 85% of them had been tortured (e.g. assault, electric shocks to genitals, suffocation, immersion in water). This period was marked by a heavy police and army presence in the country's townships, and numerous instances of South African Defence Force (SADF) violence directed against township residents in general and youth in particular. While the precise pattern of SADF and South African Police (SAP) violence have changed from one year to the next, these years were characterised by on-going allegations of police and army harrassment by township residents. For example:

> "During the 1984-86 period ... the Detainees' Parents Support Committee reported a pattern which involved soldiers picking children off the street at random, and holding them for several hours in military vehicles or in remote areas of the veld. The children have described being beaten with fists and rifle butts and ... being subjected to electric shock treatment ..." (Cock, 1990, p. 51).

President Botha renewed the State of Emergency on 12 June 1986. A blanket ban on reporting on unrest related news meant that the country was poorly informed about the civil war that was raging, often on the very doorsteps of the affluent and peaceful white cities.

Compared to other parts of the country, such as the Transvaal, the situation in Natal was relatively quiet until the mid-80's. In the mid-80's, however, Natal exploded, with the youth playing a central role in popular resistance to apartheid. In the next section of this appendix, the role of youth in popular resistance in South Africa in general is discussed, followed by some comments on the situation in Natal in particular.

A.1.6 Role of the youth in the resistance in the late 80's, with particular reference to resistance in Natal

Not all youth involved in popular resistance in South Africa have been scholars. Unemployed youth have also played an important role in the political conflict of the late 80's. However, any examination of youth and politics in South Africa must take as its starting point what is referred to as the 'education crisis' in South Africa. This crisis became particularly acute from the mid-70's, and at the time of writing in 1992 is still on-going, with some analysts claiming that the black education system is on the verge of collapse (Nzimande and Thusi, 1991).

The system of Bantu education was introduced by Hendrik Verwoerd, the South African prime minister (who has the dubious distinction of being called the architect of apartheid) in 1955. In outlining the philosophy behind Bantu Education, Verwoerd clearly stated that African peopple should be educated for their manual worker status in South African society. This philosophy sowed the seeds for the intense struggle in years to come by black people for control of their education system, and for one education system for all people, regardless of race.

Ironically, despite the state's intention that Bantu Education should serve to 'keep the black man in his place', and to serve as an instrument of social control of the burgeoning numbers of black youth, in reality the school system served to unite large numbers of students all over the country in a common institution with a common set of problems.

Hyslop (1988/9) asks why black youth became such an explosive political force on the South African political scene in the 70's and 80's. He points to a number of social and demographic factors which led to an increase in the number of black youth passing through the school system at the very time that employment opportunities for blacks reached a stage of virtual stagnation.

> "There was an enormous expansion of the numbers in the school system; thus more and more people were being educationally prepared for a job market which afforded less and less opportunities." (p.63)

In the 1960's South Africa went through an economic boom, which saw phenomenal increases in employment. However since that time catastrophic changes have taken place. After 1976 the political and economic crisis pushed employment figures down. For example total African employment in 1985 was 2 679 000 below the 1976 figure of 2 685 000 (Central Statistical Services, 1986, cited in Maylam, 1989).

The first ten years of Bantu education saw a 100 percent growth of student numbers to two million by 1965. By 1975, on the eve of the outbreak of the first mass student movements there were 3 700 000 African school children. Growth continued to 4 800 000 in 1980, and over 6 000 000 in 1985. In 1955, 10 percent of the African population was in school. Today about one in every four African people is a school student (Hyslop, 1988-9). This expansion of the school system represents not only the state's attempt to cope with black youth by channeling them into the school system, but also an important demographic change. The age distribution of the African population is taking on an increasingly 'pyramidal' shape, with the proportion of younger people constantly growing in relation to the proportion of older people. Currently about 50 percent of the total African population is under the age of 20 years. Thus in sheer numerical terms the weight of youth in the African population puts them at the centre of problems being faced in the townships.

The rapid growth of student numbers within the context of limited state resources allocated to Bantu Education led to an inefficient school system. One illustration of this ineffectiveness is the inability of the school system to provide educational continuity. Out of 100 African pupils who started school at the first year in the mid-70's, about 50 would have completed primary school, ten would reach Standard 10, and one would pass the matriculation examination at the end of Standard 10. Furthermore, the interrupted character of education places strains on the system. Thus, for example, teachers have to cope with wide age ranges within the same class, and the high number of older pupils in relatively junior classes creates disciplinary problems. In the 1986 Standard 6 enrolments, only 38 percent of African pupils were in the 'normal' age range of 12 to 14 years.

Hyslop (1988/9) comments that women students show greater staying power than men, outnumbering them at all levels of the secondary school system. In 1986 there were 215 000 women compared with 179 000 men in African Standard 6 classes. Hyslop's explanation for this phenomenon is that there are greater social pressures on males to drop out of school either into political rebellion, work-seeking or crime.

Thus a combination of factors such as the stagnation of employment opportunities, the growth of student numbers and the inability of the school system to provide the resources necessary for most students to complete their education are all important contextual factors for understanding the role played by youth in political resistance. A growing number of people are completing school, and competing for a decreasing number of jobs. Young people bear the greatest burden of unemployment. Throughout the 1980's well over half of all African unemployed have been in the under 19 group. In 1986, there were twice as many unemployed 20- to 29-year-olds as there were 30- to 39-year-olds, and four times as many unemployed 20- to 29-year-olds as 40- to 49-year-olds.

A survey of African youth in the mid 80's indicated the desperation they felt about the employment question. They expressed considerably greater discontent over the lack of employment opportunities than they did over either political or educational grievances. Amongst township dwellers under 29, only 18 percent expressed satisfaction with the employment situation.

> "The crisis in education has been part of the crisis in urban social reproduction, arising out of the collapse of the classical apartheid model of social relations, in the economic malaise and political turbulence which has prevailed since the mid-1970's .... Since education provides the key to the very limited employment opportunities available, and since it is the site of socialisation and daily existence for masses of working class youth, it is understandable that it should become an arena of contention over scarce resources." (Hyslop, p. 66)

While struggles over education were relatively advanced in the late 70's in the Transvaal, scholars in Natal were only to begin to voice their discontent on a large scale in the early 1980's.

Nzimande and Thusi (1991) link their account of the education crisis in Natal to the on-going conflict between supporters of Inkatha (the political party closely associated with the KwaZulu government) and supporters of the UDF/ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) alliance referred to as the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). They refer to attempts by the KwaZulu government/Inkatha to impose an Inkatha-biased education system on youth in Natal, many of whom were supporters of the MDM. They date the first seeds of local protest against black education in Natal to 1977, only months after the student uprisings, when the white government handed over control of education in KwaZulu to the KwaZulu government. The KwaZulu government is to all intents and purposes inseparable from Inkatha (with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi serving as the head of both groupings). Inkatha, formerly

described as a 'cultural organisation' is now a Zulu nationalist political party, which mobilises people around a sense of Zulu ethnicity and Zulu history. Like the apartheid regime, it argues that ethnic rights should be the basis for the government of South Africa, and its stated goal is to fight for the interests of the Zulu people. Inkatha's focus on ethnicity stands in strong contrast to the African National Congress's non-racial and non-ethnic position. According to the ANC, every individual should be accorded equal rights independent of race (black/white) or ethnic group (e.g. Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaner).

Inkatha claims to have wide support amongst black South Africans. However a Markinor (Gallup) survey of metropolitan Africans' political allegiances conducted in April 1990 pointed to the problematic nature of these claims. In reply to the question, "Which ONE person should lead South Africa?", there was 58% support for Mandela, and 1% support for Buthelezi. In reply to the question, "Which ONE party's, group's or organisation's policy comes closest to the way you personally feel?", the ANC was nominated by 64% and Inkatha by 1% (cited in Aitchison, 1991).

Furthermore, while Inkatha claims to represent the interests of Zulu-speaking South Africans in particular, a relatively small percentage of this Zulu-speaking population are Inkatha members. In June 1990 a Markinor (Gallup) survey of black South Africans in metropolitan areas found that the number of Zulu speakers supporting the ANC far exceeded those supporting Inkatha. The survey also found that even the white Nationalist party had the support of more Zulu speakers that Inkatha. (cited in Everatt, 1991).[4]

In 1978 the KwaZulu government, closely linked to Inkatha, decided to introduce an Inkatha syllabus throughout the schools under its jurisdiction. This syllabus, called *Ubuntu-Botho,* was made compulsory as a non-examinable subject in all KwaZulu schools in 1979. The rationale for introducing this subject is captured in a memorandum sent by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture to all KwaZulu school inspectors and principles in 1978.

> "The syllabus is based on the aims and objectives of the National Cultural Liberation Movement (Inkatha) as found in the constitution ... In drawing up this syllabus the committee was influenced by the need to develop in our youth the whole person within the ambit of the Inkatha constitution ... Many adults seem to

4 Some large part of Inkatha's political support is located in the rural areas of KwaZulu, within the structures of the traditional systems of chiefs. Schlemmer claims (without producing any evidence to support it) that this constituency would give Buthelezi about 15 percent of the total vote in South Africa (Sunday Times, 16 February 1991).

> hold divergent views and beliefs about Inkatha ... These are passed onto the young and cloud the youth's minds. It is thus hoped that this syllabus together with its guide will clear many doubts and create unified ideas to match with the goals of Inkatha." (cited in Mdluli, 1987, p.65)

Nzimande and Thusi (1991) comment that from as early as 1978 it was clear that Inkatha was not going to tolerate dissent. Schools would be used to propagate party-political positions and Inkatha would use education as an instrument to deal with opposing organisations and views. They comment on Inkatha's "intolerance for non-racial organisations (such as the UDF, ANC and Cosatu, the Congress of South African Trade Unions) and its narrow Zulu chauvinism" (p.5).

The first major indication of Inkatha's intention not to tolerate dissenting views in students or scholars came in 1983, when students at the University of Zululand (of which Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is chancellor) protested to the university authorities about the presence of armed Inkatha vigilantes at their graduation ceremony. In the early hours of the morning of 29 October 1983, while many students were asleep, vigilantes attacked the student residents. Four students were hacked to death, and an outsider also killed.

> "This event marked the beginnings of the killings in Natal, and was a warning that Inkatha was serious in stamping out any progressive anti-apartheid activity." (Nzimande and Thusi, 1991, p. 6)

Several writers (e.g. Freund 1991, Mare and Hamilton 1987, Nzimande and Thusi 1991) comment that the existence of Inkatha is based on a major contradiction: that of characterising itself as a black liberation movement on the one hand, and the fact that it functions within apartheid structures, on the other hand. This contradiction has sharpened over the years as Inkatha has used these structures to strengthen its own political position. Mare and Hamilton characterise Inkatha's approach to the white government as an attitude of 'loyal resistance'.

The intensification of mass struggles and the organisation of various sectors including youth, students, and workers, into political groupings provided a formidable opposition to the apartheid system in the 1980's. Because Inkatha controls the KwaZulu homeland, and has become dependent on it for survival, a struggle against apartheid effectively became a struggle against Inkatha.

> "As a result, Inkatha is caught in a vicious circle whereby as the anti-apartheid struggles intensify, it becomes more dependent on the apartheid machinery for survival, and as it becomes more dependent on these structures it is increasingly set against anti-apartheid organisations. This is the crux of the violence in the Natal region." (Nzimande and Thusi, 1991, p. 9)

Thus throughout the 1980's Inkatha and the state had the common interest of smashing organisations such as the Congress of South African studenst (Cosas), UDF, ANC and Cosatu, and the close alliance between the two was demonstrated again and again in conflict situations where the police and army joined forces with Inkatha vigilantes against organisations of this nature.

Political violence in Natal in the late 80's, with particular focus on the role of the youth in this resistance

Most descriptions of the Natal violence refer to the murder of Umlazi resident Mrs Victoria Mxenge on 1 August 1985 as one important precipitating factor. Mrs Mxenge, a lawyer and member of the UDF executive, was shot down by unidentified gunman outside her home. Her husband, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, had been brutally killed in 1980, a death for which UDF activists often blamed Inkatha, although evidence made public since 1989 has pointed the finger at state secret police hit-squads. Mrs Mxenge's funeral was turned into a major rallying point for the UDF. The crowd of mourners was brutally attacked by anti-UDF forces. These attacks set off mobs of indeterminate affiliation, including, "unemployed youths, looters and opportunists" who stormed through the streets of the township in the ensuing days, attacking and destroying property, looting and creating a reign of terror (Freund, 1991, p. 7).

In the week after Mrs Mxenge's death more than 80 people died in the ensuing violence in the Durban area. This death toll was increased at the storming of the Umlazi cinema, where a memorial service was being held, and the killing of 17 people by a busload of armed men, allegedly members of or sympathisers of Inkatha. In the giant 'informal settlement' of Inanda, north of Durban, for example, virtually the entire Indian population of 10 000 people fled their homes. In Umlazi, shops, cars, schools and KwaZulu administration buildings were attacked. Police intervened very little in what appeared to be a completely anarchic situation (Hughes, 1987). The unrest subsided, but 'mob rule' followed, and a number of people belonging to organisations hostile to Inkatha were attacked. Amongst these were Mr David Gasa, chairman of the Umlazi residents association, who was driven into hiding, following an attack which destroyed his house. In all the killings that occurred at this time, including the killing of Mrs Mxenge, police made no arrests.

These events set the tone for much of the violence that was to follow, which was characterised by three factors:

i) a militant youth, often consisting of school boycotters, who raised the UDF banner as a rallying cry for those rejecting the existing social and political order;
ii) attacks by the unpropertied (difficult to characterise politically) on the limited wealth within sight in the townships;
iii) Inkatha's self-styled role as 'champion of vigilantism' and 'revenger of the established and respectable' (Freund, 1991, p. 2).

For the UDF/ANC militants, driving the Inkatha establishment out of the community became the key goal. For the conservatives, breaking the militants through terror became a characteristic technique. From the mid-1980's the violence spread like wildfire throughout Natal, and it still continues.

Another feature of these events that was typical of the violence and conflict to follow, was the alliance between the police and Inkatha. Nzimande and Thusi (1991) comment that police have often played the role of "agents of destabilisation", rather than forces of law and order in township violence (p. 56). Two police forces operate in Umlazi. Officially Umlazi falls within the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Police (the KZP), which is part of the KwaZulu government. This police force is openly pro-Inkatha, and has played an active role in the harrassment of anti-Inkatha forces. In papers filed before the Durban Supreme Court in April 1990, where the court granted an interdict restraining the KwaZulu Police from assaulting and harrassing a group of ANC supporters, human rights lawyers commented as follows:

> "We believe the behaviour of the KwaZulu Police in some Natal townships is breaking up the very fabric of society in many Natal townships. People have lost confidence and respect for the KwaZulu Police and it has changed their whole perception of what the police are in a society for, and what their role is." (Durban Legal Resource Centre's interdict against the KwaZulu Police, 17/4/90, p. 2).

The second police force that operates in Umlazi is the South African Police Force (the SAP). Only the KZP have offices and stations in Umlazi itself. However, the SAP is often called in from Durban and nearby non-KwaZulu regions in times of violence - where it plays an active role in defusing violence (according to the account of the South African government) and in promoting anti-ANC violence (according to the account of the ANC). Despite this lack of impartiality, township residents generally prefer the SAP to the KZP. In a 'lesser of two evils situation', the policing style of the SAP is believed to be less brutal and less partial than their KwaZulu counterparts.

The South African government has always vociferously denied accusations that it favours Inkatha in contrast to the ANC, or that elements within the SAP are biased

towards Inkatha. However, the 'Inkathagate' scandal, exposed in 1991, revealed financial assistance and on-going secret consultation between the apartheid government and Inkatha. This confirmed long-denied accusations by the UDF and the ANC of an alliance between Inkatha and the white government (Weekly Mail, 19-25 July 1991). Furthermore, in 1991 and 1992 there have been a number of exposès of government and SAP involvement in the notorious 'hit squads' that murdered numbers of UDF/ANC supporters in the late 80's and early 90's. Thus for example in the recent 'Trust Feeds' murder trial, a SAP captain told the Supreme Court that he had given the orders for policemen to open fire on the home of UDF supporters in the Natal area in 1988, killing 11 people.

> "Describing the politics in the area in which he was embroiled, Mitchell (the police captain) said he saw himself as a soldier fighting in a civil war and he was on the side of the government. He also sympathised with Inkatha because ... he did not perceive it to be part of the 'revolutionary onslaught'." (Weekly Mail, 28 Feb - 5 March 1992).

The battle between the ANC and Inkatha (and the controversy about the role of the white government in this conflict) was in full force at the time of the interviews, and indeed still continues at the time of writing. In the year 1989, an estimated 1300 people were killed in Natal, with 1800 being killed in the year 1990 (Violence Monitoring Project, Centre for Adult Education, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg).

Political analysts point out that it is probably somewhat simplistic to explain the current violence only in terms of the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC. They point to a wide range of other conflicts that have accompanied the decline of apartheid and contributed to the general social chaos that prevails in many black communities. Morris and Hindson (1991) suggest that a broad range of additional factors must be taken into account in understanding the violence. In particular they comment that different sectors of the black community are locked into a bitter struggle over scarce resources such as access to housing, employment and so on. Under the apartheid style of regulation these antagonisms were held in check by overwhelming state force and bureaucratic control over all aspects of the social, economic and political life of blacks. The breakdown of these controls with the collapse of apartheid and the changing role of the state, has resulted in social chaos that cannot simply be reduced to conflict between political groupings:

> "Declining urban economic growth, rapid urbanisation and the growth of shackland residential areas have been part of the very process which has caused massive social dislocation, upheaval, violence and a general heightening of political conflict within the urban metropolitan areas. Along with the very often violent conflict between contending political organisations and ideologies within

> the urban black population, have come antagonisms within particular residential communities, clashes between residents of shantytowns and neighbouring residents of formal townships, and discord between a unionised working class, the emergent black middle class and the ever growing black underclasses." (p. 6)

Whatever the causes of the violence, there is no doubt that it has impacted strongly on the lives and consciousness of black youth. Nzimande and Thusi's (1991) survey of black Natal schoolchildren (conducted in 1990) found that 84 percent of scholars gave an affirmative reply to questions asking if any of their class/school mates had been killed in the violence.

The investigation by Turton et al. (1991) into the exposure to violence by township schoolchildren, found that township scholars were exposed to high levels of violence against a background of material deprivation, and showed "markedly elevated levels of psychological distress of a stress-related nature" (p. 82). Turton et al.. (1991) criticise researchers who have worked on the question of stress in South Africa for their limited focus on the effects of the violence of resistance politics. This concern with the violence of anti-apartheid resistance and government counter-resistance ignores the prevalence of what they refer to as the more "habitual" forms of violence that characterise township life, linked to poverty, unemployment and alcohol abuse. In their study they found that the vast majority in their sample of township youth had been exposed to acts of violence unrelated to political resistance: 83% to assault, 74% to assault with a sharp weapon and 72% to murder. They found that the psychological distress accompanying these more "habitual" forms of violence was as great as that associated with "resistance related" violence.

A.1.7 Concluding comments

The thesis has characterised the historical period during which the research was conducted as a period of rapid social change. This appendix has sought to elaborate on this claim with its thumbnail sketch of the historical, political and economic context of township life in the 1989-90 period during which the interviews were conducted. This sketch points to the high degree of social and political upheaval characteristic of this period, with the townships serving as the epicentre of much of this activity (in sharp contrast to the relatively sheltered and peaceful conditions in which white South Africans pursued their lives at this time). This period was characterised by high levels of both violent and non-violent anti-apartheid resistance and government counter-resistance, as well as the violent confrontation between the ANC and the Inkatha/apartheid government alliance, with youth acting as key players in the on-going

drama. Economically this period was characterised by a severe housing crisis, as well as high levels of unemployment, with youth bearing the main brunt of this latter aspect of the economic crisis facing the country.

APPENDIX A.2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

STAGE 1

Introduction and discussion of interview conditions and procedure (described in detail in chapter 5).

STAGE 2

General questions aimed to elicit significant group memberships.

1. Demographic questions: name; age; gender; size of house; number of inhabitants; each inhabitant's name, relationship to informant, age, educational level, employment; informant's educational history; details of informant's own children; informant's birthplace; mother's birthplace; father's birthplace; is informant 1st, 2nd ... generation in township; does informant have contact with rural relatives.

2. General questions to begin breaking the ice and to begin eliciting significant group memberships: Tell us something about yourself. Tell us about someone your own age that you like, and why you like them. Tell us some about someone your own age that you do not like, and why you don't like them. How do you spend your time. Which of your activities do you enjoy the most/least? Do you have a particular group of people that you hang around with?

3. Further general questions for eliciting significant group memberships: When you think of the future, what do you think about? What do you think of your personal future? Why do you have these future plans? What factors will promote/hinder the realisations of these personal plans? What do you think about the future of the community? What factors will promote/hinder the realisation of these community plans? Who is someone you admire very strongly? Who are your role models amongst the adults that you know? Amongst those adults that you know, who will you strive <u>not</u> to be like when you are an adult? Who has the most influence on your behaviour? What groupings or organisations do you belong to?

4. General questions about township social relations: How is the relationship between youth and adults in the township? Are youth more influenced by their peers or by their parents? Is there any difference in the influence of the family on boys as opposed to girls? What kind of life do you want compared to what your parents wanted at your age? Who is the head of the family? Who is in charge of discipline? Can you give a recent example of conflict in your family? Are traditional customs important in township life?

STAGE 3

Questions regarding specific group memberships - series of questions repeated for each of the 5 most influential groups.

Questions marked with an asterisk were not asked in connection with involuntary group memberships such as the family.

Firstly establish the nature of the in-group and its associated out-group(s).

Questions about the in-group

1. What kind of people tend to belong to this group?*
2. What kind of people tend not to belong to this group?*
3. What sort of things/activities do group members do together?
4. What is considered good behaviour for a group member?
5. Who encourages you to be a group member?*
6. When are you most proud of this group membership?
7. When are you the most ashamed of this group membership?
8. What mechanisms of censure exist for group members that behave badly?
9. Is there anyone that disapproves of your membership of this group?*
10. How did you first become a member of this group?* How did others become members of this group?*
11. What alternatives are there to membership of this group?*
12. What are the goals of group members? or What kind of future would you like to see for fellow group members? What factors will promote/hinder group members in achieving these goals?
13. What are the three nicest things about belonging to this group?
14. What are the three worst things about belonging to this group?

15. What duties do group members have towards each other? What duties do group members have to the community?

15a. What is the image of members of this group in the community?

16. Does being a member of this group ever mean you are forced to do anything you don't like doing?

17. Is there anything about yourself that you would choose not tell other group members?

Questions about the out-groups related to this in-group

18. Could you have been a member of this out-group?*

19. Do you have much contact with out-group members?*

20. Would you say you are better than out-group members, or just different?*

21. Is there ever any bad feeling between the in-group and the out-group?*

STAGE 4

Feedback.

How was it to come here today and do this interview? Which questions did you like the most? Which questions did you like the least? Were there any questions you found difficult to answer? How do you feel about being interviewed at the university as opposed to in your home?

APPENDIX A.3: CODING SHEET

This appendix consists of a page-long selection of coded responses from the interview with M1.

Sj	Pg	Adaptative challenge	Situation presenting choice	Response choice	Y/N	Reason for choice	Type of response	In group	Out group	General comments
M1	16	C1 crime partic	poor pickpocket for money	pickpocket	0	because churchgoer		church	pickpockets	
M1	26	C1 crime partic	comtsotsi's loot	loot furniture trucks	0	comtso's abuse coms label		comrade	comtsos	'fake' coms loot furniture trucks,look for money
M1	24	C1 crime prevent	crime in railway stations	comrades guard stations	1	committed to law and order		comrade	tsotsis	comrades organise to uplift community
M1	13	C1 crime prevent	many muggings	youth organise to prevent them	1	parents too timid	bold	younger gen	og-scared	youth bold and foreward looking cf timid old gen
M1	13	C1 crime punish	police beat with no warning	need own law and order org'ns	1	police unjust, inadequate	coms = law and order	comrade	police-useless	police force corrupt and ineffectual
M1	24	C1 crime punish	Peoples' Courts	give criminals strokes	1	coms role to stamp out crime		comrade	criminals	
M1	5	C1 knife	some scholars have knives	carry a knife	0	other scholars disapprove		scholar		knives, guns contrary to image of good scholars
M1	1	C1 safety	plan to avoid danger	avoid stabbers' shabeens	1	friends advise	out of tro	friends		shabeens seen as dangerous places
M1	3	C2 conflict pol	armed struggle for freedom	doubtful re armed struggle	1	coms have inadequate weapons	talk(pragmatic)	comrade	whites-armed	comrades lack resources for armed struggle
M1	7	C2 conflict pol sch	if problem with teacher	organise to talk,cf boycott	1	innocents injured in boycotts	non-violent	scholar	sch-viol	elect a responsible individual to talk to auth's
M1	9	C3 conflict gen	sometimes boys can't help it	fight	1	get provoked,carried away	instinct-aggro	male		spontaneous, carried away by instinct
M1	2	C3 conflict snab	tsotsis in shabeens	mug others in shabeens	0		non-violent	decent cit'n	drinker-viol	
M1	7	C3 general		fight in public	0	only uned behave like this	well-beh educ	educated	uned-beh rough	uneducated people seen as rough and uncivilised
M1	8	C4 fremo	attend political meetings	stay late c fr's at meetings	1	family very angry		comrade		defies family restrictions for comrades meetings
M1	10	C4 fremo fem	gender roles	approve girls out at night	0	can't protect selves	macho strong	male	fem-weak	girls can't physically protect themselves
M1	"	C5 general	behave in streets	shout in public	0	only uned behave like this	well-beh educ	educated	uned-beh rough	uneducated people rough and uncivilised
M1	13	C5 household	gender roles	cook	0	women's job to cook		male	fem-homebody	does sweep the yard tho - boys job
M1	7	C5 jealousy	some scholars are haughty	despise uneducated dropo s	0	perhaps uned due to fam probs	one of the people	decent cit'n		must sympathise with plight of less fortunate
M1	9	C5 personality	some youth are proud	be humble	1	humble are respected by co'y	community respect	decent cit'n		community respects humble people
M1	7	C5 respect		respect parents	1	as good family member should		family		good son respects parents
M1	9	C5 swear		use bad language	0	lose community respect	community respect	decent cit'n		comty respects well-behaved people
M1	8	C7	some drunk in streets	be a heavy drinker	0	lowers your dignity	non-drinker	decent cit'n	drinker	(in fact he does drink - but hides from parents and co
M1	10	C7	fa refused to pay drinking brolet	father know I drink	0	he'd refuse pay school costs		family		father refused to pay for drunken brother
M1	3	C8 comm'y probs	comty badly run down	need schools,halls,rds,serv's	1	comm'y needs uplifting		problem co'y		Gp = miscellaneous: member of problem community
M1	4	C9 educ effort	school is tough	determined,not give up easily	1	educ people have good lives	qual of life	educated		educated have access to better quality of life
M1	6	C9 educ problems	school riots	have missed many lessons	1	riots disrupt study	constrained-riots	scholar		school riots disrupt already poor schooling
M1	18	C9 encourage	school is tough	strive to pass exams	1	encouraged by church		church		
M1	6	C12 encourage		mother encourages re school	1	sees educ nec for good life		family		
M1	9	C13 friends	times sometimes hard	friends advise and enc ea	1	fr's = NB source of emosup	emosup	friends		
M1	17	C13 spirit support		pray every night with family	1	family custom		family		prayers = source of support
M1	13	C14 hotels		go to hotels	0	only show-offs do	one of the people	decent cit'n	show offs	
M1	6	C15 english	need english to comm abroad	pursue education	1	learn to speak english	horizons	educated	uned-no langs	education opens doors for communication
M1	4	C15 urban	have rural relatives	prefer urban life	1	more development, prosperity	progress	urban	rural	urban life-more scope for dev and prosperity
M1	4	C15 young gen	old gen - different lifestyle	prefer modern lifestyle	1	more civilised	civilised	younger gen	og-old fash	older generation are old-fashioned
M1	14	C16 discipline	young pe need discipline	father guides,disc's us	1	he's most NB person in fam		family		fam gender roles - fa = discipline
M1	7	C16 discipline	if misbehave at school	get beaten by teacher	1	if behave badly	corporal punish	scholar		bad scholars beaten by teachers
M1	11	C16 guidance	sisters need a firm hand	guide sisters sometimes	1	sometimes need firm hand		family		but they're usually OK on their own
M1	4	C16 tradition	some infl by rural lifestyle	influenced myself	0	has no relevance to our lives	modern urban	urban	rural	rural life has no relevance for self,parents,co'y
M1	5	C17 ask	need money	approach father for money	1			family		
M1	32	C17 crime	money is short in family	become tsotsi for money	0	disapprove crime	anti-crime	decent cit'n	comtsotsi	
M1	16	C18 black	black people oppressed	sympathise with pickpocket	1	oppressed black like me	racial identity	black		sympathetic to poverty of oppressed black pickpocket
M1	25	C18 coms	families in danger	recruit others into comrades	1	offer protection to family		comrade		comrades recruit youth by offering protection
M1	29	C18 coms	community crime is problem	become a com	1	see their anti-crime success		comrade		comrades= source of law and order
M1	26	C19 discourage	parents disapprove politics	tell parents he's a comrade	0	wd try force him to leave		comrade		parents disapprove of youth in politics
M1	28	C19 educ	want to make polit contrib'n	become educated	1	freedom thro education	political freedom	educated		political leaders encourage youth to be educated
M1	27	C18 gender	gender roles	approve girls as comrades	0	they're too scared	macho resistance	male-bold	fem-weak,slow	girls too weak and scared, lack strength to run
M1	2	C18 personality	freedom in sight	have no fear,take risks	1	can see freedom ahead	fearless	younger gen	og-timid	youth fearless in fight for freedom
M1	13	C18 young gen	parents very timid	youth try change,pas don't	1	yg have more education	educated	younger gen	og-uneduc	educ gives youth access to critical empowerment
M1	37	C20 pants	pants wear flamboyant clothes	like phantsulas	1	like their clothes	appro from others	phantsulas		others admire them when you wear them
M1	9	C20 respect	choice of friends	choose fr's that resp parents	1	family approve of them		family		some youth are disrespectful
M1	11	C20 scholars	choice of friends	choose scholars for friends	1	can share ideas,study	upward mobile	scholar		
M1	39	C20 style	don't like dudes	insult dudes	1	they are sissies,feminine	macho masc role	phantsulas	dudes	pants tease effeminate dudes